

Advertising War:

Pictorial Publicity, 1914 - 1918



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This research discusses pictorial publicity released in Britain during the period of the First World War. Based on the historic ‘War Publicity’ collection at IWM, it analyses a wealth of imagery produced by official, charitable and commercial concerns to assess the meanings about war that were absorbed and circulated by posters, propaganda and advertisements between 1914 and 1918. It provides an extensive examination of First World War pictorial publicity, and proposes a new methodology for looking at such material within both a visual and a historical context.

The study proposes that as spaces of power, museum archives affect the way that their holdings are viewed and interpreted. It argues that the way that the ‘War Publicity’ collection has been negotiated and taxonomised at IWM has influenced how the visual culture of the First World War has consequently been considered. Exceptional examples of well-designed posters have achieved an elevated status, while commonplace imagery encountered in the everyday by the British public has been ignored. This thesis rectifies this by examining the ‘War Publicity’ collection as it would have been viewed: as a mass. In doing so, it is able to consider the narratives and discourses present in the visual culture of the war, and deduce how such meanings worked visually to convince the British public to support war aims.

This research contributes to discussions in patriotism and citizenship during the First World War through the development of the concept of ‘patriotic citizenship’. ‘Patriotic citizenship’ describes the core visual language present in First World War publicity. It relied on convincing the viewer that in order to be a good British citizen, one must participate in prescribed forms of war-related activities such as joining the army, donating to wartime charities, economizing in food and buying war bonds and savings. This thesis examines how publicity worked visually to persuade the British public to subscribe to defined forms of participatory citizenship in the form of complying with British war aims, and the new representations that pictorial publicity was able to necessitate in the process.

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This research would not have been possible without the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and Imperial War Museum. Thank you to staff, especially Suzanne Bardgett, Kathleen Palmer and Sara Bevan who supported my research.

Finally, my thanks must go to Lesley Bradley, the architect of the collection upon which this research is based. We are told as historians that we must maintain a researcher's autonomy in our approach and analysis of archival material. We must remain free from bias by keeping our distance: surveying the collections on which we base our work with independence and impartiality. Yet in my engagement with departmental reports at IWM, the collection of Bradley's correspondence, and of course, the 'War Publicity' collection, this became increasingly difficult. Because I began to feel that I rather got to know Bradley

himself. Through reports and written letters, I got a sense of a man who was dedicated and committed to his work as he tried in some small way to capture a sense of what the 'everyday' in war was like for those that lived it. In his correspondence with others, I got a sense of a man who was kind and honest, and modest about his own abilities, despite having been with the museum through two World Wars. A man who enjoyed his work, so much so that he continued to volunteer at Imperial War Museum long after he retired. A man, perhaps, who could see value, where others would not.

In 1917, Bradley wrote to *Advertiser's Weekly*, asking that they make the advertising community aware that he was collecting examples of war advertising. In response, the magazine printed a small article about Bradley's endeavor, in which they wrote:

'The value of such a collection as it is proposed to get together could, indeed, not easily be overestimated. Whether it fulfills its promise, will, however, depend upon its completeness and its arrangement. It cannot pretend to be complete unless it includes such a mass of material as it will make it practically inaccessible to all but the most leisured and earnest of students...we trust that those to whom it is entrusted will know how to make the best use of their opportunities.'

Well, I think Bradley was certainly successful in making it as complete as could be. Months spent trawling through his collection can attest to the dedication in time and effort this mass of material requires from its students. In my work on the 'War Publicity' collection, I think that I always had Bradley's original intentions in mind. I wanted to show the value of this rich collection of material. And most importantly, I wanted to show it as a mass. I hope that I have made the best of my opportunity. And I hope that if Bradley were able to read this study, he would think so too.

Introduction

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Fig. 25: B. Bairnsfather (n.d.), poster advertising the Surrey Red Cross, IWM uncatalogued.

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Fig. 28: The Lord Roberts' Fund (n.d.), 'The National Tribute, Pamphlet, IWM uncatalogued.

Fig. 29: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for the Lord Roberts' Fund, IWM uncatalogued.

AHRC: Arts and Humanities Research Council

BEU: British Empire Union

IWM: Imperial War Museum

MIRIAD: Manchester Institute for Research and Innovation in Art and Design

MMU: Manchester Metropolitan University

NCRB: National Committee for Relief in Belgium

NCWS: National Organising Committee for War Savings

NIB: National Institute of the Blind

NWAC: National War Aims Committee

OUP: Oxford University Press

IWM: Imperial War Museum

PRC: Parliamentary Recruiting Committee

VADS: Visual Arts Data Service

WRB: War Propaganda Bureau

This research is about British pictorial publicity and the First World War. In his seminal study into British society between 1914 and 1918, Adrian Gregory observes how scholars of the period have consistently failed to consider how and why the British public endured the upheaval of war. There is a disproportionate fascination, he argues, with the ‘mud and blood of Flanders’.¹ In sharp contrast with the literature on the Second World War, interest in the British home front remains low, even as we enter the second year of the centenary. As Gregory remarks, there is a keen interest in specific areas, including the history of women during the war and the issue of memory, yet the experience of war on the home front for British society, and the question of why and how interest in a long and drawn out war was maintained is woefully under-represented. It is in this gap in the literature that this study resides.

As a genre within visual culture, pictorial publicity with an emphasis on the medium of the poster is the material under consideration. What this research aims to accomplish, and what therefore differentiates it from other studies into the propaganda of the First World War, is how meanings about the war were absorbed and circulated pictorially between 1914 and 1918. It will do so through the combination of historical and pictorial analysis. It will argue that the relationship of wartime British citizenship to the state, and the ideologies underpinning and surrounding it can be shown to have a significant link with the visual languages of war conveyed in pictorial publicity. Given the issues concerned with class and gender in the early twentieth century, and that the print media under discussion was produced not just by government but by commercial and charitable interests, the nature of

¹ A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 5.

this link is by no means uncomplicated. Mainly produced by advertisers, pictorial publicity did not unproblematically reflect the ideologies of the state. Rather, the images themselves played a role in shaping and negotiating ideas about the war and the soldiers and civilians who fought in it.

The focus of this study is the 'War Publicity' collection held at IWM and this research has arisen as a result of a partnership between MIRIAD, MMU and the Art Department, IWM. In 2003 the AHRC awarded funding for a project titled *Posters of Conflict* which led to the digitisation of 10,000 posters from the IWM's collection. Outputs from *Posters of Conflict* included an exhibition on the IWM's poster collection titled *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* and a scholarly book by James Aulich and John Hewitt named *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe*.² James Aulich of MIRIAD, MMU and Richard Slocombe of IWM were aware of the paucity of academic studies into the war poster. In addition, during the research for *Posters of Conflict*, Aulich discovered that the posters had originally formed part of a larger collection of visual culture material under the banner of the 'War Publicity' collection. The 'War Publicity' collection was formed between 1917 and 1922 by the Keeper of War Publicity and future Director General, Leslie Ripley Bradley (1892-1968). In a collection that originally numbered over 35,000 objects, posters were collected alongside other forms of official, charitable and commercial pictorial publicity that referred to the war. This included press advertisements, leaflets, cartoons, public notices, show cards, charity badges and flags. Bradley, who drove the collecting of this material, thought that in this way, he could: 'record the war as far as possible by means of publicity matter of all forms'.³ In 2011, MIRIAD and IWM were awarded AHRC funding for a Collaborative Doctoral Award project that would focus on Bradley's 'War Publicity' collection.

2 J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

3 Letter from L R Bradley to R Westwood of the Association of British Advertising Agents, IWM, Bradley Correspondence Records, 16 October 1917, IWM AD.

Prior to beginning this research, in November 2011 I had completed a Masters in Art Gallery and Museum Studies. My thesis had explored the memorial landscape of Ypres, with a particular focus on In Flanders Fields Museum. I was interested in the enduring longevity that the memory of the First World War retains in Britain and Belgium and the role of the museum in contributing to the legacy of the war. Exhibited in galleries and museums, and frequently featured on canvas tote bags, mugs and reproduced posters, not least at IWM's museum shop, the designs of particular examples of First World War propaganda have contributed to the lasting legacy of the war in Britain. Yet little is known about how such imagery functioned during the war. With this in mind, the research questions that this thesis asks are:

- What meanings about war and British society were absorbed and circulated by pictorial publicity produced between 1914 and 1918?
- What visual languages were present in pictorial publicity of the First World War and how what did they promote to the British public?
- What is the role of the museum or gallery in creating or contributing to the myth of the First World War poster?

Consequently, the aims of this thesis are:

- To produce a more thorough understanding of how pictorial publicity and propaganda can absorb and circulate meanings.
- To contribute to an understanding of the specific meanings about the First World War that pictorial publicity and propaganda employed.
- To explore the role of IWM in constructing or contributing to the 'myth' of the First World War poster.

This introduction will provide an overview of the types of material with which this research is concerned and will define pictorial publicity as it is used in this study. The thematic nature

of this study means that each case study requires its own literature review to establish the body of research within which this work sits. The reader will therefore be guided by a literature review within each case study chapter. The introduction will consider the small body of literature that is currently available on the subject of First World War publicity and propaganda. It will further examine the current literature on First World War patriotism to establish the narrative of patriotic citizenship as it is visually embodied in the examples of publicity discussed in this thesis. Key to this research is its examination of official war posters alongside charitable and commercial material. It makes the argument that accurate claims about how meanings were absorbed and circulated in visual culture can only be drawn if the material is examined as a mass. Furthermore, because many of the examples of pictorial publicity examined in this research were produced by anonymous advertisers and printers rather than artists or illustrators, it is important to establish how the history of advertising impacted upon the look and visual content of pictorial publicity. As such, this introduction will also examine the history of modern advertising. In the last section, the methodological and theoretical framework that underpins this research will be considered. I will address the historical approach to looking at and interpreting pictorial publicity, and explain how this study strikes a balance between visual analysis and historical contextualisation using techniques which draw on intertextual analysis and iconography. I will further explain how Foucauldian discourse analysis has been used to identify and consider the key discourses present in the publicity. Finally, this introduction will provide an outline of the case studies that constitute the chapters in this thesis.

PICTORIAL PUBLICITY DEFINED

Pictorial publicity is defined by this study as print material produced for the purpose of advertising a product, charity or governmental scheme such as recruiting or war savings. Pictorial publicity can therefore constitute the poster, the pictorial leaflet or pamphlet or the commercial advertisement. As James Aulich and John Hewitt observe, such materials are often considered to be straightforward visual evidence of a society's history, customs and

practices.⁴ Where pictorial publicity receives critical attention from scholars, most of the studies consider the mediums separately, ascribing attention to the poster as propaganda or considering the sale of commercial goods. Yet even a cursory assessment of the 'War Publicity' collection at IWM would make clear that the boundaries between the commercial advertisement looking to sell a trench coat to officers, a recruiting poster looking to convince a civilian man to join the army, and a charitable advertisement soliciting a donation to the cause of the wounded soldier are not unambiguous. The look of these seemingly disparate materials, where they were displayed, how they were produced and their purpose is inter-relational and inter-dependent. As an example, figure 1 shows an advertisement produced for Lifebouy Soap. The image depicts an injured serviceman wearing a sling on his arm. He is taken care of by a nurse who has surreptitiously placed a box of Lifebouy Soap on the table just out of the viewer's eye in the lower right section of the picture. The accompanying text draws on wartime rhetoric around the reasons for going to war with Germany, stating 'Better a bandage than a bondage'. The use of key model citizens in the form of the soldier and the nurse lends authority to the image during wartime and legitimises the consumerist purchase during a period of strict economy. Employing a similar visual rhetoric, figure 2 shows a charitable poster produced for the Surrey Red Cross. Although the design and layout of each example is different, the visual language of wounded soldiers is remarkably similar considering the different intentions of each image. Placed in the foreground of the image and similarly seated in a chair with his arm in a sling, like the Lifebouy Soap man, 'Old Bill' appears to maintain a cheerful demeanor despite his injury. Surrey Red Cross does not need to be legitimised by the authority of war because as an established charity it already carries that authority. Yet it utilises the techniques of advertising to sell the organisation. 'Old Bills [sic] made like New!' only as a result of donations to this cause. These two examples highlight the changing relationship between official government rhetoric, charitable organisations and popular commercial culture, and demonstrate how visual languages displayed on pictorial publicity and used to convey meanings to the public

4 Aulich and Hewitt, p. 1.

are better understood as they were intended to be viewed: as a mass of interconnected materials.



Fig. 1 - Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Sunlight Soap, IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 2: B. Bairnsfather (n.d.), poster advertising the Surrey Red Cross, IWM uncatalogued.

With the exception of Aulich and Hewitt, critical attention surrounding the nature of pictorial publicity focuses on the poster. However, this does not need to be an obstacle to considering other forms of publicity. As a form for the display of visual languages of war, it is arguably more important to consider why such imagery looks the way that it does, who has produced it and for what purpose. It is these questions with which this research is concerned and as such, a framework for consideration of the critical study of the poster that is not limited to posters of the First World War has been useful.

On one point, most poster scholars agree. The poster has been the subject of surprisingly little analysis. Perhaps it is the poster's ephemerality that has warranted the medium such little critical historical attention. As Roger Cooter and Claudia Stein maintain, posters are

produced to make an impression on a specific topic and then disappear.⁵ While Ruth Iskin notes that Walter Benjamin's consideration of the way that we look at buildings might best describe how we look at the poster: 'a casual noticing, rather than attentive observation.'⁶ Such considerations however speak volumes about how and why the poster works to convey and circulate meanings in society. As Aulich and Hewitt observe, the poster operates in the public domain: its visibility and the way it is received is dependent on its relations within a wider field of visual objects.⁷ This point serves two important functions in the consideration of the poster. First, it highlights the importance of not viewing the poster as a stand-alone object, irrespective of context. Second, it points us in the direction of understanding how the poster functions as a medium for conveying meaning in a way that is simple and easy to understand. Referring to the simplicity necessary in poster design, Cassandre, the prominent French poster artist, termed the poster a 'publicity telegram'.⁸ The American poster artist Ervine Metzl expands upon this definition in his discussion about the five remits within which the successful poster needs to work.⁹ He argued that first and foremost, the poster must be simple in design and message, he went on to observe that each attribute of the poster must work towards conveying a singular message. His third observation was that, presumably given the nature of mass appeal, the poster should aim to please the 'artistically insensitive'. His fourth point was that it must convince the consumer to accept the qualities of the product being sold without question, and finally it must sell the product quickly.¹⁰

While Metzl's five points about the poster are true in the sense that they reinforce the importance of simplicity in design and recognisability in the viewer, his points can be built

5 R. Cooter and C. Stein, 'Coming into Focus: Posters, Power, and Visual Culture in the History of Medicine' in *Medizin Historisches Journal*, Vol. 42 (2007), pp. 180-209, p. 4.

6 R. Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design and Collecting, 1860s-1900s* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), p. 194.

7 Aulich and Hewitt, p. 1.

8 Cassandre quoted in M. Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1971), p. 105.

9 E. Metzl, *The Poster: Its History and Art* (New York: Watson-Guphill Publications, 1963).

10 Metzl, pp. 120-124.

upon with observations made by the Second World War poster artist Fougasse.¹¹ Fougasse suggested that the poster serves three distinct functions. He argued that it must attract the attention of passers-by; meaning it must stand out from its surroundings.¹² It must work to persuade the viewer in some way; not by forcefully proving a point, but by gently convincing the viewer of the desirability of a certain course of action.¹³ Thirdly, it must be clear in its intention; it must be simple in design, putting across only one concise message in a way that is memorable enough that the view can re-describe it to others.¹⁴ For Fougasse, there is a balance to be maintained in the design of the poster. The viewer must have some hand in decoding the message. He argued that the poster's intention should only be obvious for ninety per cent of the time, the other ten per cent should remain an incentive for the viewer to work out.¹⁵ This flatters the viewer's intelligence, and encourages a sustained interest in the poster's message.¹⁶ Both Metzl and Fougasse's historic points chime with more recent definitions such as Aulich's, who notes that the best posters are 'striking, economical and efficient, and deliver a direct and simple message'.¹⁷ David Bownes and Robert Fleming observe how in Britain, short, direct slogans enabled posters to get the message across.¹⁸ While Margaret Timmers stresses that the poster must be a 'dynamic force for change'.¹⁹ What these definitions demonstrate, is that while the design of the poster must be simple to reduce the potential for misunderstanding of the poster's message on behalf of the viewer, it is equally important to recognise the complexity in how the poster achieves such seemingly simple meanings and how such meanings are recognisable to the viewer. Pearl James draws on WJT Mitchell's ideas on visual analysis to usefully suggest how posters must be viewed as

11 Fougasse quoted in A.P. Herbert, *A School of Purposes: A Selection of Fougasse Posters, 1939-1945* (London: Methuen, 1946), p. 43.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 J. Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), p. 1.

18 D. Bownes and R. Fleming, *Posters of the First World War* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), p. 4.

19 M. Timmers, *The Power of the Poster* (London: V&A, 1998), p. 8.

both images and pictures.²⁰ Mitchell argues that the picture differs from the image because it is material – it can ‘burn or break’.²¹ The image however is the thing that appears within the picture and ‘what survives its destruction – in memory, in narrative, and in copies and traces in other media.’²² It is the image that concerns this research, and that indicates the complexity of the poster. The image signifies how the poster relates to the wider visual field and how pictorial publicity was able to articulate the discourses that concern this research: discourses of duty, patriotism, citizenship, nationality, common cause, class harmony, gender and commerce. Such discourses did not exist alone within an image on a poster. They relied on values and aesthetics found elsewhere in society. The well-known poster *Your Country’s Call* (figure 3) speaks to pre-existing ideas about Britishness expressed through a bucolic countryside landscape and contemporary fears about invasion from the German army.

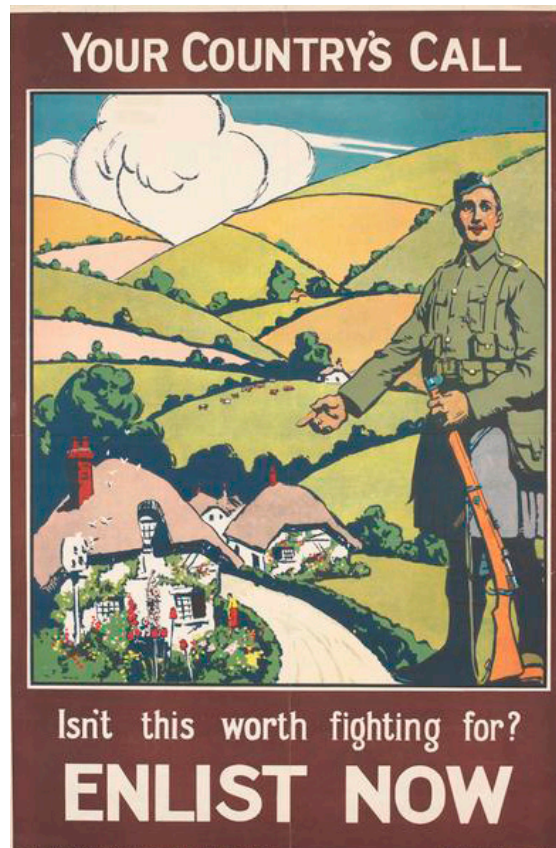


Fig. 3: Anon (1915), ‘Your Country’s Call’, IWM PST 0320.

20 P. James (Ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 9.

21 W. J. T. Mitchell, ‘Visual Literacy or Literary Visualcy?’ in J. Elkin (Ed.), *Visual Literacy* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 11-29, p. 16.

22 Ibid.

Imploring ‘Isn’t this worth fighting for?’ the message is simple, direct and understandable, yet its meaning is only acquired as a direct consequence of Britain’s particular history, customs and values. Susan Sontag refers to this practice as ‘quotation’. She argues that posters are ‘parasitic’ in the sense that they only ‘follow style or taste rather than setting it’.²³ Posters copy and repeat aesthetics that are already familiar. It is this practice that enables them to absorb and circulate meaning through visual languages and allows them to convey such languages in a quick and simple way.

In the literature, war publicity has occupied an overlooked space in the junction between studies on propaganda, stylistic histories of the poster and coffee table books which offer illustrated images with little in the way of explanation or contextualisation. Martin Hardie and Arthur Sabin’s *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* is the earliest example of an attempt to document posters released by the government during the war.²⁴ Like many examples that followed, Hardie and Sabin offer a brief introduction after which the posters are left to speak for themselves.²⁵ Continuing with this trend, more recent publications on First World War posters follow a similar format.²⁶ Such publications serve to reinforce the notion that posters serve as unproblematic visual evidence. The meaning of posters is thought to be so simple that they are able to speak for themselves. This negates the context from which such images have been created and the meanings that they absorb and circulate.²⁷ They also lack detailed analysis on the role of the print and advertising industries in creating such imagery.²⁸ Moreover, while these studies bring the visual culture of war to a

23 S. Sontag, ‘Introduction’ in D. Sterner, *The Art of Revolution in Castro’s Cuba* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

24 M. Hardie and A. Sabin, *War Posters Issues by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* (London: A & C Black Ltd, 1920).

25 Ibid.

26 See for example G. A. Borkan, *World War I Posters* (Surrey: Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2002); D. Bownes and R. Fleming, *Posters of the First World War*; Joseph Darracott (ed.), *The First World War in Posters* (London: Dover Publications, 1974); B. Lewis, P. Paret and P. Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992); R. Ormiston, *First World War Posters* (London: Flame Tree Publishing, 2013); M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London: Evelyn, Adams and McKay Ltd, 1968); P. Stanley, *What Did You Do in the Great War Daddy? A Visual History of Propaganda Posters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

27 This is discussed in more detail in the methodology and approach section, pp. 22-25.

28 J. Aulich, ‘Graphic Arts and Advertising as War Propaganda’ in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by U. Daniel, P. Gatrell, O. Janz, H. Jones, J. Keene, A. Kramer, and B. Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08.

wider public, their focus on official propaganda does not allow the reader to draw broader conclusions about the types of visual languages that contemporary civilians interacted with on an everyday basis. John Mackenzie, M.L. Sanders and Philip Taylor, Cate Haste, and more recently David Monger all offer important insights into the workings of Britain's propaganda machinery between 1914 and 1918 yet with a focus on the workings of official propaganda, these studies are oriented towards historical research with little or no visual analysis.²⁹

On the visual symbolism of war aims, Allan Frantzen and Gabriel Koureas take a gendered approach to assessing how forms of masculinity were represented visually through war posters, monuments and sculpture. Focusing on public commemoration of the war, Koureas examines the rhetoric of sacrifice and questions the extent to which it sat uncomfortably after the war with an unheroic and traumatic discourse in the form of memorials.³⁰ Central to Koureas' study is how post-war attempts to visualise mourning and memory reflected discourses surrounding masculinity.³¹ With a similar focus on the rhetoric of masculinity, Frantzen considers the visual language of chivalry and sacrifice in English and German visual culture of the First World War.³² Drawing parallels between the sacrifice required in a time of war and the sacrifice made by Christ, Frantzen argues that rhetorics of Christianity and chivalry influenced the way that the meaning of war was communicated to the public in both nations.³³ The research in this study takes a broader view of the visual culture of war, and argues that abstract and allegorical discourses were superseded by the more modern discourses of duty, national identity, common cause, and class harmony expressed

29 C. Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda and the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); D. Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); M. L. Sanders and P. Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1982).

30 G. Koureas, *'Unconquerable Manhood': Memory, Masculinity and the Commemoration of the First World War in British Visual Culture, 1914-1930* (London: University of London Press, 2004).

31 Ibid.

32 A. J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

33 Ibid.

as patriotic citizenship. Nonetheless, Frantzen's use of pictorial evidence to sustain his arguments are both useful and rigorous, demonstrating the value of the visual in studies of the war.

James Aulich and John Hewitt's *Seduction or Instruction?* And Pearl James' *Picture This* are notable exceptions in the current field of research into First World War pictorial publicity and propaganda.³⁴ Drawing on the 'War Publicity' collection at IWM, Aulich and Hewitt make clear connections between the government and the commercial advertising trade to investigate the wider discursive contexts of pictorial posters.³⁵ Focusing mainly on British posters, with reference to materials produced by enemy and allied nations, Aulich and Hewitt begin by examining the material produced for recruiting campaigns in Britain, Ireland and the colonies concluding that the poster was central to garnering support. They argue that in their rallying call to the defence of freedom and liberty, posters took an ideological position on concerns of national interest, communal solidarity and personal happiness. For Aulich and Hewitt, such positions worked because they spoke to real anxieties and appeared to propose solutions.³⁶ In this way, the imagery seduces the viewer through complicity and mutual dependence. For Aulich and Hewitt, the commitment to war was reinforced by the sacrifices that had already been made and was made worthy with the promise of future social cohesion.³⁷ The authors further examine how posters were able to infiltrate new spaces previously free from advertising. They argue, that the poster attained a respectability it had previously lacked.³⁸ Notable in this research is how it draws out the connections between government and commerce in the print media. In doing so, Aulich and Hewitt demonstrate the changing relationship between propaganda, publicity and public information during the war period. Aulich has more recently built on his findings in *Seduction or Instruction* for an

34 J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); P. James (ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

35 Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?*.

36 Ibid, p. 2.

37 Ibid, p. 60.

38 Ibid, p. 198.

article published in the 1914-1918 online encyclopedia.³⁹ He discusses examples of official propaganda to demonstrate how they drew on the rhetoric and techniques of commercial advertising to solicit support for the war.⁴⁰ Particularly in Britain and the United States, the relationship between national governments, advertising trades and print media industries were linked, and represented an important infiltration of commerce into government. Notable in this research is Aulich's argument that previously under-recognised sections of society were legitimised in commercial advertising and pictorial propaganda before receiving wider social and political recognition.⁴¹ An argument that this study seeks to build on by examining home front pictorial publicity featuring women and the working class.

James' edited collection of essays builds on arguments made by Aulich and Hewitt.⁴² Moving away from a design-led focus, the essays in James' volume attempt to establish how posters functioned within various contexts at the time of their production. Examining major thematic issues in First World War visual culture including gender, national identity, race, woundedness and modernity from a range of combatant nations, for James, as products of the emerging mass media, posters epitomised the modernity of the conflict. Their ability to reach large numbers of the population allowed national communities to unite as viewers of the same image as posters bridged the gap between the new public sphere of mass communication and the streetscapes in which they were viewed.⁴³ James' work, along with the work of Aulich and Hewitt, represents a new approach to political posters and pictorial publicity which centralises the poster imagery, as opposed to viewing them one offshoot amongst many in the realm of political propaganda. Importantly, they do so from a visual culture and historical approach as opposed to a design-led approach. This enables broader conclusions to be drawn about how posters functioned in the First World War.

39 Aulich, 'Graphic Arts and Advertising as War Propaganda'.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 James, *Picture This*.

43 Ibid, p. 7.

One of the key concerns of this study is the argument that meanings about the war that were absorbed and circulated in pictorial publicity revolved around the core narrative of patriotic citizenship. Patriotic citizenship is a concept that has been proposed as a result of the findings of this research which argues that common arguments about the propaganda of the First World War are too reductive in their reliance on recruiting and anti-German rhetoric.⁴⁴ It describes the core visual language of pictorial propaganda which revolved around the notion that patriotic duty and citizenship were inter-dependent and inter-relational.⁴⁵ It relies on convincing the viewer that in order to be a *good* British citizen one must participate in war-related activities. Such activities are wide-ranging from joining the army, purchasing war bonds, exercising economy in food consumption, buying British goods, donating to war charities and participating in war-labour. All constitute a form of contributing to the national cause. The implication of such narratives is that if one is not participating in war-related activities along with his or her fellow citizens, then one is not a part of the national community. The notion of patriotic citizenship draws on Foucauldian ideas about disciplinary power.⁴⁶ What is important to note here, is that patriotic citizenship was developed in response to a realisation that the imagery featured on pictorial publicity cannot be placed either into the category of patriotism or citizenship. Rather the war created the conditions whereby the two were merged in their representation of everyday acts of prescribed forms of participation in war-related activities. More importantly, in doing so, created the opportunity for the pictorial recognition of new sections of society such as women and the working class who while depicted in print media had not previously been represented in officially recognised and therefore legitimate channels, such as recruiting, war savings and even charitable causes, as patriotic citizens.

44 See chapter two, 'The Discourse of Citizenship', pp. 96-100 and chapter three, 'The Discourse of Belgium', pp. 134-139.

45 For a full definition of patriotic citizenship see pp. 57-62.

46 The theoretical framework for this concept is discussed in more detail in chapter two, 'The Discourse of Citizenship', pp. 58-60.

A comprehensive review of the literature on patriotism and citizenship is discussed in chapter two of this study, however, I will dwell here for a moment on studies which specifically concern patriotism in the First World War. What is notable about studies into First World War patriotism is how few of them there are. In Raphael Samuel's much considered volumes on British patriotism, chapters focusing on the war discuss patriotism in relation to militarism and the popular imagination.⁴⁷ Anne Summers' chapter examines the motivations of those that volunteered to join the army. Looking to pre-war constructs of patriotic activity in the form of nationalist leagues, Summers argues that men were motivated by factors other than patriotism, namely popular militarism. She suggests that the popularity of joining the army during the war was characterised by pre-existing ideals of militarism.⁴⁸ Yet as I demonstrate in chapter two and chapter four, in pictorial publicity, the discourse of militarism only existed within a patriotic remit. In addition, other discourses of camaraderie, adventure and citizenship were much more prevalent in the broad landscape of recruiting posters. As an example, a poster produced for the PRC depicts a young soldier joyfully waving his cap in the battlefield.⁴⁹ The accompanying text 'Hurry Up Boys!' speaks to the rhetoric of fellowship and citizenship that Summers discusses, however as the presence of German helmets demonstrates, representations of patriotism are also present in the notion of fighting a just war, aiding one's fellow countrymen, and standing up for the nation. W.J. Reader, who is of the school of scholar who see the war as a disjuncture in British society, similarly focuses on volunteerism.⁵⁰ He suggests that the fact that conscription was introduced in 1916 demonstrates that patriotism became obsolete.⁵¹ Such conclusions demonstrate how it is necessary to look beyond the confines of volunteerism and the army in any study which considers patriotism during the war. As this research demonstrates, patriotism, in

47 R. Samuel (Ed.), *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of National Identity, Volume I: History and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1989); R. Samuel (Ed.), *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of National Identity, Volume II: Minorities and Outsiders* (London: Routledge, 1989); R. Samuel (Ed.), *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of National Identity, Volume III: National Fictions* (London: Routledge, 1989).

48 A. Summers, 'Edwardian Militarism' in Samuel (Ed.), *Patriotism: Volume I*, p. 254.

49 See IWM PST 0332 on p. 169.

50 W.J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991),

51 Ibid, p. 8.

the form of patriotic citizenship was not confined to appeals aimed at potential soldiers. In the visual culture of the period, it was equally present throughout the entirety of the war. Monger agrees on this point, arguing that with the exception of studies which consider the political left and gender, studies into First World War patriotism fail to look beyond volunteerism and conscription.⁵² David Monger's consideration of patriotism has guided arguments set out in this research because he takes a broader view of what patriotism can encompass. Based on a reading of NWAC propaganda, including pamphlets, postcards, lantern lectures, speeches and cigarette cards, Monger argues that during the war a type of 'presentational' purposive patriotism saturated such material. He argues that various contextual topics were combined with a core message of patriotic duty. He particularly pinpoints anti-German sentiment and celebrations of British history as aspects of patriotic rhetoric which emphasised British identity. Most importantly for this research, Monger suggests that approaches to patriotism need to be flexible. They must go beyond the narrow confines of the more obvious manifestations of patriotism, such as jingoism, to consider how forms of patriotism infiltrated daily life between 1914 and 1918. For Monger, patriotism in NWAC propaganda emerged in several forms: 'sacrificial patriotism' and 'civic patriotism' celebrated shared sacrifice and duty, 'adversarial patriotism' highlighted dangers to British society, 'supranational patriotism' celebrated Britain's similarities and differences with Allied nations, 'proprietary patriotism' evoked the traditional ideologies of Britain, 'spiritual patriotism' consecrated the war effort, while finally 'aspirational patriotism' gave the British a sense of what could be gained through victory.⁵³ Monger's definitions are clearly wide-ranging and applicable to the propaganda of the NWAC, however they are not easily applied to pictorial publicity which ultimately aimed to present direct and simple messages. Moreover, despite claiming to offer an in-depth consideration of the language and imagery of NWAC propaganda, Monger tends towards the former. This is the result of his primary

52 Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda*, p. 14. Also see N. Gullace, *The Blood of our Sons: Men, Women, and the Regeneration of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and P. Ward, *Red flag and Union Jack: Englishness, patriotism and the British left, 1881-1924* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).

53 Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda*, p. 109.

material which features little in the way of imagery. That he only concentrates on NWAC propaganda is also notable as this doesn't demonstrate how widespread patriotic rhetoric was. By contrast, this study goes beyond the narrow boundaries of material produced by government departments to demonstrate how the discourse of patriotic citizenship emerged *pictorially* in war publicity produced by official, charitable and commercial concerns. It contributes to the effort made by Monger to consider the narratives of patriotism in war propaganda with further considerations of how patriotism was interwoven with expressions of national belonging through the discourses of patriotism and citizenship.

PICTORIAL PUBLICITY: A HISTORY

This research is able to make claims about how meanings about the war were absorbed and circulated by pictorial publicity because unlike other studies into the propaganda of war, it draws on examples of charitable and commercial advertising alongside official material to read the dominant narratives. Because the First World War saw the beginning of the government's interest in disseminating information in an organised way, much has been written about propaganda during this period.⁵⁴ However, the advent of organised propaganda in Britain is inextricably linked with the development in the advertising industry of new techniques in mass persuasion. The birth of a style of advertising that in some way resembles that which we are familiar with today lies in the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution, and the associated transformation in communications marked an important transition in the character of advertising. Britain was fast moving into an age when the total market for manufactured goods was expanding. The population was on the rise; growing from around six million in 1740 to approximately twelve million in 1821.⁵⁵ Improvements in transportation made urban areas more accessible, and innovations in the construction

54 C. Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda and the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); D. Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); M. L. Sanders and P. Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1982).

55 T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 15.

of roads, railways and canals aided the movement of raw materials and manufactured goods. Simultaneously, developments in factory production yielded rapid increases in mass production that would require stimulation in demand for the goods that were produced. These advances fundamentally changed the nature of advertising. More produce meant that a greater amount of companies were advertising as frequent new inventions on the market had to be made known to potential customers. Although many manufacturers resented the intrusion of advertising, any firm that began promotion of a given product would see a dramatic increase in sales, thereby compelling competitors into employing similar tactics in retaliation.⁵⁶ While the general increase in advertising was largely due to growth in trade, the reduction and then abolition of the long-standing advertising duty in 1853 and stamp duty in 1855, prompted an expansion of the press that would coincide with a vast increase in advertising.

Imposed in 1712, the Stamp Act had been an attempt on behalf of the government to muzzle journalist critics. Once abolished, many new newspapers were founded, in addition to new illustrated magazines, resulting in an increased readership. T R Nevett attributes the increase in advertising in the second half of the nineteenth century to an enlarged industrial capacity based on the technology of the industrial revolution.⁵⁷ However, the expansion of the press, coupled with a new corporate capitalism was equally, if not more essential to the development of new types of persuasive advertising. With an increased readership base, advertisers could reach mass numbers of people across a range of society. This prompted the emergence of a 'commodity culture', which Thomas Richards has described as 'the one subject of mass culture', and as such the 'centrepiece of everyday life'.⁵⁸ Through mass pictorial magazines advertisers were able to appropriate illustrations to sell products. Despite the abolition of the Advertising Duty and the Stamp Act, both of which had restrained the size of advertisements in newspapers, editors were still reluctant

56 Nevett, p.65.

57 Nevett, p. 60.

58 T. Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Advertising in Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University, 1990), p. 18.

to change column layouts, and this affected the way that advertisements could be displayed. The effect was a pressure for the advertisement to fit into a fixed area of space, resulting in small type and a lack of illustrations. Increased pressure on newspapers from the 1880s allowed advertisements to adopt the techniques of poster advertising, which had gained some acceptance by the late nineteenth century as a result of a growing focus on the visual element.⁵⁹ Through the illustrated advertisement, the everyday could be transformed into a spectacle. Until the 1890s, advertisers had not shown much interest in the working class consumer, but access to mass, cheap print culture allowed them access to the commodity economy. As Richards has argued, the representation of commodities through illustrations, defined marketing as image making, and images could do more than sell products; they could lift ordinary people from the anonymity of urban life, and perhaps more crucially, they could influence the construction of national, class and gender identities to steer the urban mass.⁶⁰ It was this point of realisation, that the mass image could be used to communicate with and steer a mass audience that would impact on the way that the meaning of war was communicated to the public between 1914 and 1918. As will be examined in case study chapters two, three, four and five, it enabled advertisers to communicate with previously under-recognised audiences, encouraging new forms of recognition and legitimisation. As advertisers looked to extend the market beyond the monied, the working class found themselves visually represented through commercial structures in advance of political ones and the conditions of war enabled such recognition.

As early as August 1914, members of the advertising industry considered how the war might be beneficial for the trade. In a mass meeting held on August 25 1914, concerning how advertisers might preserve the business during the war, Charles Higham argued that the 'present' was an 'opportune moment for advertising.'⁶¹ Respected within the industry,

59 The Pears Soap poster depicting John Everett Millais' is often cited as the first successful example of a large scale British commercial advertising poster to focus on the illustration.

60 Richards, p. 40.

61 C. Higham quoted in P.J. Nash, 'Possibilities of Political Advertising in *The Billposter* (September, 1914), p. 43.

Charles Frederick Higham had risen through the ranks to become one of advertising's most powerful and charismatic characters. Higham recognised advertising as a method of 'scientific distribution', viewing it as a civilising influence, able to promote the desire for better things, and by implication, self-improvement.⁶² Making the case for advertising essential to democratic life, Higham viewed advertising to be a great educative force, able to enlighten the masses for the greater good. Before the First World War, the British government had largely refrained from the business of opinion manipulation.⁶³ The half-century between 1880 and 1930 saw the development of an organised system of commercial information and persuasion as part of the modern system of distributed capitalism, but as Raymond Williams has noted, there is little evidence of 'true' psychological advertising before the war.⁶⁴

In the years preceding the war, advertising was still comparatively crude when compared with later examples. One of the more recognisable nineteenth century advertisements is Pears Soap's Bubbles poster (figure 4). Released in 1886 bearing an image of a John Everett Millais painting; in its own time, the poster represented an attempt to improve on poorly designed examples from earlier years. However, advertisers in Britain still failed to perceive the benefits of integrating the illustration with the message of the poster. The visual element, although recognised to be important, was treated as something quite separate from, and in many cases, unrelated to, the main theme. Compared with an example of the persuasive techniques used in war advertising, the difference is palpable. Frank Brangwyn's poster for the Belgian and Allies Aid League depicting the German invasion of Belgium in 1914, by contrast, is far more sophisticated in communicating the central message of the poster to the viewer (figure 5). The image, occupying three-quarters of the overall poster, depicts displaced men and women; children hide frightened amongst the women's skirts; many are carrying belongings. Taking central stage, a male figure has his right fist raised in the

62 C. Higham, *Scientific Distribution* (London: Nisbitt & Co, 1916), pp. 4-5.

63 Ibid.

64 R. Williams, 'Advertising: The Magic System' in R. Williams (Ed.), *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), pp. 329-330.

air, seemingly in act of unity, or futile defiance. The visible civilian distress portrayed in the image is suggestive of the power of victimisation as a device to appeal for support, both for the Belgian and Allies Aid League, and for the war. Brangwyn's clever illustration simultaneously gives justification to Britain's involvement in fighting and plays on home



Fig. 4: J. Everett Millais (1886), 'Bubbles', Lady Lever Art Gallery.

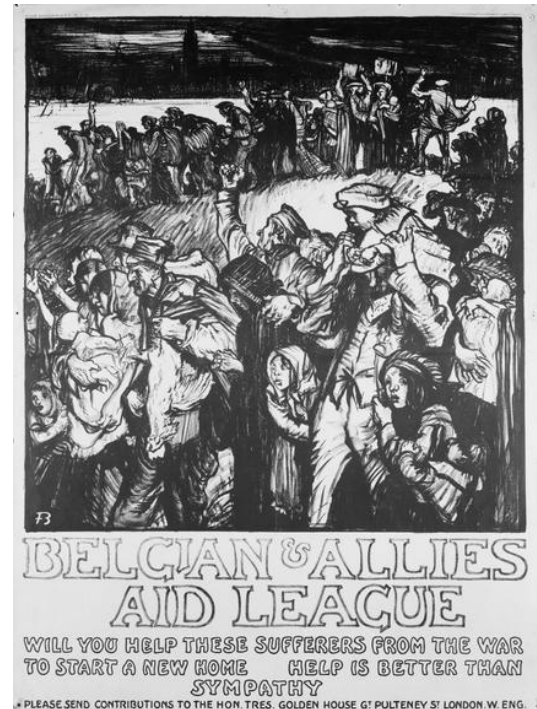


Fig. 5: F. Brangwyn, 'Belgian and Allies Aid League', IWM Q 7999.

front fears of invasion, whilst highlighting Germany's putative disregard for international codes of war. By contrast, the Pears poster is confused in its message and audience – the poster outraged many who disapproved of the annexing of high art for commercial use. The message in the poster for the Belgian and Allies Aid League is clear: it persuades and places guilt on the viewer to ensure the desired response.

One of the most notable features of advertising during the First World War was the extent to which members of the advertising community worked with the government to aid the state in appropriating the techniques of advertising to effectively sell the war. In the absence of official expertise, the war cabinet relied on advertising experts such as Hedley Le Bas, Thomas Russell and Charles Higham to ensure that government campaigns

were to achieve the desired result.⁶⁵ The close ties between commerce and government became increasingly clear through campaigns such as the War Loans drive, which saw commercial interests directly promoting government agendas through advertising material. Relationships between British and American advertisers allowed ideas to filter across the Atlantic. Higham had close ties with American contacts, and British advertising mirrored the persuasive techniques used in the United States. *Poster such as Daddy, what did YOU do in the war?*⁶⁶ manipulated the viewer, playing on personal relationships and basic human anxieties.

Crucially, Bradley recognised these developments. In his indiscriminate approach to collecting, he managed to preserve for the future a body of work that in contrast with comparable UK and European collections, eschewed the aesthetic concerns of the gallery or the professional concerns of the advertising trade. He was far more interested in the broader visual environment of daily experience found in recruiting and charity campaigns, war loans drives and commercial advertisements. In his correspondence, he repeatedly stressed his aims of preserving for future historians a permanent record and a resource capable of capturing the atmosphere and impact of the war on civil life. He noted how through advertising campaigns, not only the typography and techniques of advertising could be observed but the whole ‘course of war’ could be traced.⁶⁶ Consequently the collection is extremely rich in the diversity of its content and revealing of how far the popular imagery from the First World War that we are familiar with today relied upon structures of meaning embedded in various media.

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

This thesis seeks to explore the meanings that were absorbed and circulated by pictorial publicity produced during the First World War. Observations made within this study are contextualised with imageries and texts from social and cultural history in order to support

65 Aulich and Hewitt, p. 31.

66 Letter to Advertising Manager of Messers Carreras Ltd (10 October 1917), *Bradley Correspondence*, IWM AD.

and augment the reading of any given image. It is informed by visual culture, in that it seeks to understand the ways in which people create meaning from the consumption of mass visual culture.⁶⁷ As discussed in more detail later in this chapter, an awareness of iconographical and intertextual approaches is employed to enhance the reading of visual imagery, and to maintain methodological rigour in the way that images are read. Visual discourse analysis provides the theoretical support required in a study of such a mass of imagery.

HISTORICAL APPROACH

The ‘historically contextualised’ component of the approach employed by this thesis is crucial, because, as has been observed in the introduction to this study, the historical contextualisation of imagery presented on First World War pictorial publicity is largely ignored in the current literature. Currently, visually striking ‘coffee table’ publications containing beautiful reproductions of popular war posters accompanied by little or no textual analysis make up the majority of books on the material.⁶⁸ They share the assumption that the images are uncomplicated examples of propaganda, able to speak for themselves. Such imagery however, is neither simple, nor straightforward. Rather, it represents a narrative of the First World War and how the meaning of the war was conveyed to the British public through social and cultural constructs.

WJT Mitchell has observed how one of the primary implications of the ‘pictorial turn’ has been to challenge historians to look at, explore, use and interpret visual sources.⁶⁹ One of the main aims of this project is to explore and experiment with the use of a pictorial archive from a historical perspective, and to establish how an examination of pictorial publicity can

67 N. Mirzoeff (ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 7.

68 See for example G. A. Borkan, *World War I Posters* (Surrey: Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2002); Joseph Darracott (ed.), *The First World War in Posters* (London: Dover Publications, 1974); B. Lewis, P. Paret and P. Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992); R. Ormiston, *First World War Posters* (London: Flame Tree Publishing, 2013); M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London: Evelyn, Adams and McKay Ltd, 1968); P. Stanley, *What Did You Do in the Great War Daddy? A Visual History of Propaganda Posters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

69 WJT Mitchell, ‘The Pictorial Turn’, *Art Forum*, March 1992.

contribute to the First World War scholarly landscape. This thesis therefore asks what happens when we begin with an archive of images. Methodologies for working with images as the historic source base are still being explored, and only a small number of historic monographs rely on visual sources as their primary source material.⁷⁰ Pictorial evidence can offer different narratives to those presented by text-based evidence alone. Yet as Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh argue, pictorial evidence cannot narrate in and of itself.⁷¹ Particularly in the examination of such heavily laden visual objects as propaganda and publicity images, the context within which such images are produced is crucial to establishing the meaning of the visual codes within them. As Mitchell observes: ‘whatever the pictorial turn is, then it should be clear that it is not a return to naïve mimesis, copy or correspondence theories of representation, or a renewed metaphysics of pictorial “presence”; it is rather a complex interplay between visibility, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.’⁷² Susan Sontag has similarly suggested that although the image is able to help build and maintain a moral or social viewpoint, it cannot create a viewpoint without ‘an appropriate context of feeling and attitude’.⁷³ While Anandi Ramamurthy implores that: ‘Images are historical documents. They do not simply reflect the ideological perspectives of an era, but form part of the process through which these ideologies are produced.’⁷⁴ For pictorial publicity, this means that meaning is established through the interplay of context and image that concerns Mitchell. Images are not ‘cold’ objects, placed into the world free from context, they are formed by and in turn, form, historical context and social and cultural meaning. This issue of potential mis-representation has undoubtedly contributed to historians’ reluctance to engage with the image as the primary source of evidence. In a consideration of historians’ use of images within the context of the history of medicine, Sander Gilman describes how

70 Good examples are A. Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) and J. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997).

71 C. Henriot and W.H. Yeh (eds.), *Visualising China, 1845-1965: Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. xii.

72 WJT. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), p. 16.

73 S. Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), p.17.

74 Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising*, p.1.

‘the problem of the truth of visual sources haunts their use’.⁷⁵ Anxiety associated with incorrectly reading images, or with misusing images in such a way that works against their ‘correct’ meaning has arguably contributed to reluctance amongst historians to engage with the visual. In *Visual Methodologies*, Gillian Rose references Stuart Hall who notes ‘It is worth emphasising that there is no single or ‘correct’ answer to the question “what does the image mean?” Since there is no law which can guarantee that things will have “one, true meaning”’.⁷⁶ Interpreting images, Rose observes, is ‘just that, interpretation’.⁷⁷

APPROACHING A METHODOLOGY

Given the observations in the previous section, and the paucity of studies into pictorial publicity which offer little in the way of methodological guidance, it is worthwhile to briefly reflect on how a methodology, or an ‘approach to looking’ at pictorial publicity was developed in this thesis. As will be discussed in more detail later in this section and in the later ‘methodology’ section of this chapter, the first step in this research was an appraisal of the Bradley archive. After this initial appraisal, it was decided to employ Maurice Rickards’ ‘discernible phases’ approach to review the entire Bradley collection and establish whether there were specific links between the sequence and content of war publicity themes and the progression of warfare itself.⁷⁸ Rickards work in this area focused on the poster. He identified a pattern that all national campaigns followed and he used this pattern to argue that the trajectory of warfare had remarkable similarities in all those countries that fought in the First World War.⁷⁹ Because the Bradley archive includes material from all national war publicity campaigns, it was hoped that using Rickards’ approach to establish similarities

75 S.L. Gilman, *Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 9.

76 S. Hall (ed.), *Representation, Cultural Representations and signifying practices* (London: Sage, 1997) quoted in G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 2007 [2001]), p. xiv.

77 G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, (Sage: London, 2007 [2001]), p. xviii.

78 Rickards, M., *Posters of the First World War* (New York: Evelyn, Adams & McKay, 1969).

79 Rickards makes the claim that the propaganda posters of all nations that participated in the war followed the same pattern: first calling for men to join the army, then for aid for the fighting men, then for help for those wounded as a result of fighting, including refugees, then calls for women workers, followed by economy and austerity, eventually ending with a final effort or push. See M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, pp. 8-9.

and differences between the way that the meaning of war was conveyed to the public cross-nationally would give new insights into the experience of war for all belligerent nations. It is worth noting that Rickards' approach has received criticism for its broad definition of the war experience in each participating country, and for not accounting for cultural differences.⁸⁰ This thesis planned to acknowledge such criticisms, adapting Rickards' approach to a chronological study of the material.

Upon developing the initial methodology, it was in the first instance necessary to access IWM's Proclamations archive located in Duxford, in order to find, photograph and document the collection. This enabled me to create an understanding of its full extent. Once this initial assessment of the material had been completed, it became clear that the initial plan to analyse the collection chronologically using Maurice Rickards' 'discernible phases' approach would not allow the thesis to explore the material to its greatest potential. Rickards observes a 'universality' in cross-national First World War poster imagery, and as a result, argues that all belligerent nations shared a common strategy in their use of war publicity.⁸¹ While Rickards is not incorrect in his argument, the presence of repeated tropes or patterns is not enough to indicate shared experience. As both Stefan Goebels and Aulich and Hewitt observe, isolated visual examination can be misleading, as images can draw on a multitude of existing mentalities within their audience.⁸² It is necessary to situate such imagery within its broader discursive context if the meaning of war publicity imagery is to be examined. As a result of such issues, it became clear that this thesis would benefit from a thematic approach rather than a chronological assessment. Nonetheless, the act of approaching this understanding would not have been achieved without testing Rickards' 'discernible phases' methodology. Moreover, the usefulness of this approach is

80 James, P., *Picture This*, p. 6.

81 Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*, pp. 8-9.

82 J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 4; S. Goebel, 'Chivalrous Knights Versus Iron Warriors: Representations of the Battle of *Matériel* and Slaughter in Britain and Germany: 1914-1940' in P. James, *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 2009), p. 81.

that it allowed me to become familiar with the material, exploring it from different angles to draw out key themes.

METHODOLOGY

When I began this study, I wanted to understand the function of pictorial publicity in transmitting meaning, ideas and norms. I was interested in the role of pictorial publicity as a function of power and I wanted to establish how power worked visually through posters by establishing certain values for its intended audience. I wanted to understand what values were visually expressed in pictorial publicity, how those values were expressed and why particular values were expressed over others. To address these issues, the research has employed iconography, intertextuality and discourse analysis as a methodological and theoretical framework. Iconography was chosen for its ability to establish critical historical context and its reliance on intertextuality, thereby allowing me to understand why certain values were visually expressed, and how the meaning of images might have been received by a contemporary audience. While iconography is most often applied to historical art, Rose observes how a 'looser' definition of the term has more recently been used in studies of visual culture.⁸³ Discourse analysis was chosen to enable an understanding of the function of pictorial publicity as a form of power. At its most basic, discourse refers to 'groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking.'⁸⁴ Discourse makes some things more visible, and others less so. Applied to pictorial publicity, discourse enables us to understand why certain images about the British public and the war were constructed, and why they might have signaled a certain aesthetic or behavioural response from the viewer. For example, chapter two discusses the so-named 'crime posters' produced by the NCWS which were aimed at encouraging the wealthier classes to practice economy. Such posters, exemplified by *To Dress Extravagantly In Wartime Is Not Only Bad Form, It Is Unpatriotic* and *Don't Use a Motor Car For Pleasure* enabled support for the war to become distinguishable and visible. The viewer was expected to respond by

83 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 154

84 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 142.

refraining from engaging with certain behaviours such as wearing luxury items or driving. These are highly visible acts; thereby a situation was established whereby members of the public could display support for the war through compliance with direct orders issued through war publicity. Discourse analysis is therefore useful in establishing how power relations in society could be driven through pictorial publicity and acted out upon the public. While this may appear to be an eclectic combination of theoretical concepts, particularly given Erwin Panofsky's insistence that iconography is not a Foucauldian method, the sites of production for pictorial publicity are institutions of power.⁸⁵ Therefore the images cannot be read as autonomous, but must be considered as part of the power structures of which they are representative.

Mieke Bal, discussing the nature of interdisciplinary research in the arts and humanities has argued for the need to conduct interdisciplinary research through concepts rather than methods.⁸⁶ While methods are fixed, concepts can travel – between disciplines, individual scholars, between historical periods and geographically dispersed academics. For Bal, it is the changeability of concepts that renders them useful for considering new methodologies that are not rigid or fixed. While Bal acknowledges that concepts can be misused, for her, the issue is not about whether the concept is used correctly, but rather, whether it is used in a meaningful way.⁸⁷ Gen Doy similarly supports a constructive approach to research methodology. She suggests that theoretical concepts can be 'borrowed' and applied to research in new and experimental ways if consideration is given to how the research process and the communication of its findings will be structured in practice.⁸⁸

85 The key point of contest in using the two together is Panofsky's notion that iconographical analysis shows the 'essential tendencies of the human mind' and how such tendencies might be translated visually into themes and concepts. E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York: Double Day Anchor, 1957), p. 47. A Rose observes, Foucauldian thought suggests that there are no 'essential tendencies' because all of human subjectivity is constructed. However, in their shared concern for historical contextualization, iconography and discourse analysis are compatible. G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 154.

86 M. Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the humanities* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2002), p. 5.

87 Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the humanities*, p. 5.

88 G. Doy, 'Crossing Borders: Thinking Without a Passport' (2008) < <http://www.interrogations.org.uk/papers/gdoy.doc>>.

The combination of concepts that have been selected to underpin the arguments that contribute to the central premise of this thesis are a response to the collection of material. Within this approach, social and cultural history remains a thread throughout, and historical materials are used to support the meanings and readings of the images in this thesis. In this sense, Lynda Nead's mode of looking at representations of sexuality through images of Victorian women has been loosely employed as a model followed by this research. Nead's study, though obviously removed from this one in terms of subject material, employs visual discourse analysis combined with techniques drawn from social history and cultural representation to contextualise and produce meanings about images of femininity in Victorian art. The development of a methodology that could offer a supportive framework to this research, work in practice, and respond to the multi-meaning nature of pictorial publicity proved to be one of the most difficult aspects of this thesis. The complexity of issues that develop through using a mixed methodology approach make a clear structure necessary to allow the study to retain methodological rigor.

This study employed a quantitative survey approach to the material in Bradley's archive to thematically assess the group of images and establish recurring pictorial tropes. The Proclamations archive containing official, charitable and commercial leaflets, pamphlets, proclamations, print advertisements, stamps and posters amounts to 801 catalogued items. While some of these objects are catalogued, many are simply stored in uncatalogued boxes and therefore the number is actually much greater. The Art archive numbers 18,643 works, of which the majority are British. Thanks to the generosity of IWM I was permitted unrestricted access to both collections and was therefore able to photograph and document the entire Proclamations archive. While I had access to the physical Art archive, the collection in its entirety has been made available on VADS as a result of the 2003-2006 AHRC funded *Posters of Conflict* project between the Art Department at IWM and MIRIAD, MMU. The nature of my unfettered engagement, particularly with the 'Proclamations' archive was beneficial to my research because it meant that it was not restrained by the pre-categorisations and taxonomies that the museum had placed onto the collection. The notion of the museum archive as a political space that reinforces power/knowledge is the effect of

Foucauldian thinking on Museum Studies since the early 1980s.⁸⁹ Foucault argues in favour of effective history, which disrupts, discontinues, breaks and ruptures traditional notions of linear, progressive history.⁹⁰ His concepts of epistemes or discursive formations explain how structures of knowing can change over time as they are contextualised within different cultures. The episteme is the context of knowing. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill defines it as ‘the unconscious, but positive and productive set of relations within which knowledge is produced and rationality defined’.⁹¹ In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault defines the episteme as a set of relations that give rise, at given periods, to ‘epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalised systems’.⁹² We read things according to their hidden relationships, and this is reflected in the organisation and categorisation of museum collections. This has led Hooper-Greenhill to argue that museum collections are governed by forms of classification based on visible and measurable relationships, and the organisation of these relationships in tabulated order.⁹³ However, as Tom Nesmith observes, such contextualising of records and roles can subtly alter and direct their initial goals and functions and influence consequent understandings by positioning the archive to do or say particular things. By removing the material from those taxonomies and quantitatively approaching it as a neutral collection I hoped to avoid approaching the material with pre-established ideas about how I would organise it, and what it could reveal about the way that the meaning of war was conveyed to the public. As Nesmith observes, any work of archives-making constitutes a kind of authoring. For those working with archives, their personal background, education, professional norms, self-understanding and public-standing will shape their participation in the process of creating an archive. In my efforts to remove the ‘War Publicity’ collection

89 Tony Bennett and Eileen Hooper-Greenhill have been particularly influential on the application of Foucauldian thought to Museology. See T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995) and E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

90 M. Foucault, ‘Nietsche, Genealogy, History; in P. Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), p. 88. For a discussion of how Foucauldian ‘effective history’ has been used in the study of museums see B. Lord, ‘Foucault’s Museum: Difference, Representation and Genealogy’ in *Museum and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 1-14.

91 E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 12.

92 M. Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), p. 21.

93 E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 133-6.

from their pre-established categories to consider the broader narratives present in pictorial publicity, one could argue that I only served to shape new meaning-making contexts based on my own research interests. However, it is only through the process of de-contextualisation from the museum prescribed categories and re-contextualisation according to the material's relationship with other records and with their historical context that understandings of the archive could be reconsidered.

On the basis of my archival research I created an image database consisting of detailed information on 1719 images. Using this material I identified discourses present in the mass of material and it was these discourses that constituted the thematic chapters of this thesis. While this approach has similarities with content analysis, it is different in practice. Content analysis is a process of counting certain elements within a collection of images. The researcher selects a number of descriptive labels termed 'codes' and counts the frequency with which the codes occur in the sample of images. This generates statistical data from which the researcher can then base the research. Content analysis has been criticised by Gillian Rose because in reducing the meaning of visual images to a series of codes, much is lost.⁹⁴ Moreover, content analysis claims to be completely methodologically explicit because the rules of coding are rigorously followed, thereby eliminating any subjectivity on behalf of the viewer. Yet the act of creating an initial collection of 'codes' to search for within the material politicises the act of looking according to the viewers own pre-determined 'bias'. This thesis followed Foucault 's advice that predetermined categories must be 'held in suspense'.⁹⁵ They must not be rejected definitively, of course, but the tranquility with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about by themselves, but are always the result of a construction of rules of which must be known and the justifications of which must be scrutinised.⁹⁶ Lastly, content analysis is incompatible with iconography because it criticises any reliance on the 'good eye'.⁹⁷ The 'good eye' is what

94 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 65.

95 M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), p. 25.

96 Ibid.

97 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 65.

allows the researcher to contextualise visual material within other disciplines dependent on extensive knowledge of other disciplines, in this study, social and cultural history.

PARAMETERS OF ‘LOOKING’

Because, first and foremost, the research seeks to analyse how meanings about the war were visually articulated in government, charitable and commercial print media during war, and the social and cultural context of such meanings, only those archival materials with images were initially considered as part of this study. Only two more parameters have been applied to the selection:

1. The materials must be British in origin, and aimed at the British public.
2. The images must reside within the ‘War Publicity’ collection.

This sample included images featured on material in the ‘Proclamations’ archive, and images featured on posters in the ‘Art’ archive; both archives are discussed in detail in chapter one. The parameters of image selection depended on the content of the image. Because this thesis is concerned with how meanings about war were visually communicated to the public, if an example of pictorial publicity was predominantly textual, with only a basic accompanying illustration, it was discounted from the initial selection of materials for analysis and brought in later to contextualise predominantly visual examples. Visual analysis of this body of material allowed key themes to emerge and it is such themes that informed how I grouped the material into the case study chapters that comprise this research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is based on the assumption that pictorial publicity acquires meaning that is expressed to its audience as a consequence of its historical context and its relation with popular and political culture and identity. As Nead observes:

‘Cultural representations are circulated and consumed in specific ways and the

meanings which they construct are different from those produced at other levels of social practice. Visual images have particular conditions of existence and are attended by special kinds of audience expectations which cannot be neglected or collapsed into a reflection of other systems of representation. Visual culture, in other words, does not simply absorb and transmit a pre-formed ideology...[it] is a practice of representation and representation functions to transform and mediate the world through specific codes it uses and the institutions of which it is a part.⁹⁸

These are the issues that this thesis considers in aiming to consider how particular meanings are produced by particular images featured on pictorial publicity, and why such images produce such meanings. Or put more simply, this thesis explores how, through representations of the British public, pictorial publicity garnered support for the First World War, and it considers the meanings that were visually produced in attempting to garner such support. The look of imagery displayed on pictorial publicity, and its exhibition and reception in the public sphere was articulated through a range of discursive formations such as masculinity, femininity, duty, citizenship, patriotism and identity. Such discourses acquired meaning through and were informed by the popular and political cultural structure of British society at the end of the nineteenth century.

Alongside discourse analysis, a form of iconography informed by intertextual approaches has been used to support claims made on the basis of visual analysis throughout this thesis. Iconography can be understood as an intertextual method in that it relies on contextualising the meaning of a discursive image through the support of meanings carried by other images and texts. As is detailed in both the introduction to this thesis, and in chapter one, the history of the way that the 'War Publicity' collection has been stored and displayed at IWM has impacted upon the way that pictorial publicity has been interpreted within scholarly literature. To quote Richard Slocombe, Senior Curator of Art at Imperial War Museums,

98 L. Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1990), p.8.

‘exceptions became the norm’.⁹⁹ Posters that were not necessarily representative of the mass of material that was produced and that the public encountered on a day-to-day basis became representative of pictorial publicity produced during the war. Exceptional and interesting posters filtered into the scholarly literature, to be presented as an individual example of ‘war propaganda’, or used as supporting evidence in a broader argument about war based on other historical evidence. This thesis maintains that the meanings that were consumed and circulated by First World War pictorial publicity can only be understood when publicity is contextualised as a kind of mass medium, which overlaps and integrates. This means that the material must be examined quantitatively, and must be examined against other pictorial publicity from the First World War. It must also be contextualised using materials from social and cultural history so that the meanings of any given example of pictorial publicity can be understood and amplified.

The term ‘discourse’ is a postmodern construct. It is one of the most frequently used terms from Foucault’s research. Foucault defined the term in a number of ways throughout his work; this study will focus on Foucault’s use of the term in *The Archeology of Knowledge*, where he described discourse as ‘the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation.’¹⁰⁰ This ‘system of formation’ refers to Foucault’s notion of how meaning is ascribed to the world and objects that exist within it.¹⁰¹ Subject to a Foucauldian reading, pictorial publicity is understood only through the categories and concepts that the audience applies to them. They would therefore have different meanings for different audiences. To use an example borrowed from Jane Tynan, recruiting posters cultivate male conformity through the uniform as visual code. The uniform has the dual purpose of encouraging the willing male viewer to join the army, while simultaneously inducing guilt and shame in reluctant recruits.¹⁰² Tynan uses this example to demonstrate how during the First World

99 L. Green, 13 February 2015, London, *Interview with Richard Slocombe at IWM London*, appendix II.

100 Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, p. 108.

101 M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002 [1989]), p. 205.

102 Jane Tynan, *British Army Uniform and the First World War: Men in Khaki* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 29.

War, military uniform came to be presented as ‘a symbol of conformity to patriotic military masculinity.’ The categories and concepts of rejection from all-male camaraderie, the discourse of patriotism and duty and the cultural influence of popular literature would have informed the meaning that the male viewer ascribed to the image of uniform featured on the poster. Therefore, pictorial publicity provided models for individual appearance and behaviour.

That the visual is an element of discourse, and that the understanding of images is culturally based is an argument that is central to the approach taken in this study. Linda Nead has explained how ‘art’ can be understood as a discourse in her study into representations of Victorian women.¹⁰³ She explains that ‘the discourse of art in the nineteenth century [consisted of] the concatenation of visual images, the language and structures of criticism, cultural institutions, publics for art and the values and knowledge made possible within and through high culture.’ Visual discourse analysis has also been analysed by Gillian Rose in *Visual Methodologies*. Rose suggests that:

‘It is possible to think of visuality as a sort of discourse too. A specific visuality will make certain things visible in certain ways, and other things unseeable, for example, and subjects will be produced and act within that field of vision.’¹⁰⁴

Combined with Foucault’s assertion that the rules of discourse define and produce historically specific ideas of ‘truth’ which govern what is ‘valid, sayable and possible’ this notion can demonstrate how discursive formations formed through pictorial publicity ‘infuses itself into reality such that it becomes unremarkable and even passed off as common sense.’ As Stuart Hall argues:

‘A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about –

103 Nead, *Myths of Sexuality*, p. 4.

104 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p.143.

i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about the topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the ways in which the topic can be constructed.’¹⁰⁵

This relationship between knowledge and power is associated with institutions, and how power operates through what Foucault terms institutional ‘apparatus’ and ‘technologies’ or techniques.¹⁰⁶ According to a Foucauldian reading, pictorial publicity is one of the techniques by which power operated during the First World War, as part of the discursive formation by which a ‘regime of truth’ could be maintained. Aulich and Hewitt ‘locate the poster within a discursive formation shaped by government, commerce, special interest groups, and the advertising industry influencing the perception of the poster and the construction of the viewer.’¹⁰⁷ It is this interplay between institutions that reinforces pictorial publicity’s ability to produce meanings and establish certain truths within culture. Irit Rogoff observes how images ‘do not stay within discrete disciplinary fields...since neither the eye nor the psyche operates along or recognises such divisions.’¹⁰⁸ It is the *mass* in mass culture that makes pictorial publicity so effective. Thus, while it may not be true that eating more bread during the economy campaigns would have negatively effected the British army fighting in the war, if it is frequently deemed to be true in the mass of visual culture, stretching from official government campaigns to commercial advertising for butter, that the public faced day to day, and those that eat more bread are penalised because of it, it will become true in terms of its ‘real’ effects.¹⁰⁹ Patriotic notions such as citizenship, visually expressed as,

105 S. Hall, ‘The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power’ in S. Hall and B. Gieben (eds.), *The Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies* (London: Wiley, 1993), p. 276.

106 M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77* ed. and tr. by C. Gordon (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), p. 194.

107 Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction*, p. 5.

108 I. Rogoff, ‘Studying Visual Culture’ in N. Mirzoeff (ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 26.

109 This argument is supported by Stuart Hall’s understanding of Foucault’s ‘regime of truth’. Hall argues that ‘...it may or may not be true that single parenting leads to delinquency and crime. But if everyone believes it to be so, and punishes single parents accordingly, this will have consequences for parents and children and will become true in terms of its ‘real’ effects.’ S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 1997), p. 49.

for example, exercising economy over food portions, become so frequently pictured within the public sphere that individual deviation from acceptable wartime behavior is deemed ‘unpatriotic’, leading to a sense that the individual does not belong. The implicit rules that govern the population during a time of national crisis are visualised in and reinforced by pictorial publicity.

CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has outlined the key questions, primary aims and scope of this research. It has further outlined the origins of this study, provided a definition of pictorial publicity, and considered the current literature on the analysis of war posters. Finally, it explained the methodological and theoretical approach that frames this research. As this thesis draws exclusively on a collection of pictorial publicity held at IWM, chapter one examines the history of the ‘War Publicity’ collection. It will survey Lesley Bradley’s role at the museum and his motivations for collecting this body of material. It will detail Bradley’s plans for the collection and question the role of subsequent curator’s and archivists in influencing the way that the ‘War Publicity’ collection has been understood. As this research is a result of the 2007 AHRC *Posters of Conflict* it will examine the role of this project for changing the scholarly and exhibitionary view of pictorial publicity.

As is detailed in the methodology, this research took a quantitative approach to assessing the ‘War Publicity’ collection for research. As a result of this approach the remaining chapters in this study emerged as major visual and rhetorical themes. Chapter two sets up the theoretical framework for the concept of patriotic citizenship present throughout the remaining case studies. Overall, it seeks to examine how patriotism and citizenship emerged as major themes in the pictorial publicity of the First World War and how they were appropriated as forms of disciplinary power that sought to convince the British public to support the war. It argues that the visual language of patriotic citizenship emerged to convince the viewer that in order to be a good British citizen one had to participate in specific war-related activities such as buying war bonds, joining the army, economising and

donating money to war charities. Chapter two aims to explore how patriotic citizenship was represented in pictorial publicity and how new sections of society were legitimised through pictorial representation. The rhetorics of participation, sacrifice and duty discussed in this chapter infiltrated wartime publicity campaigns and this chapter will discuss how they emerged in official home front campaigns and charitable and commercial advertising.

Chapter three concentrates on the representation of Belgium. The discourse of Germany's invasion of Belgium enabled regulating bodies to promote the participation of both Britain and her citizens as a necessary moral act. This chapter will discuss how the visual language of British national identity and gendered rhetoric were interpreted in pictorial publicity to solicit early support for Britain's war campaigns. It sets out to examine the relationship between charities and government as the visual rhetoric of the two came together in mutually beneficial posters and pamphlets drawing attention to the plight of Belgian refugees.

Continuing the gendered theme, chapter four will question the extent to which representations of masculinity were employed in pictorial publicity campaigns, and how specific forms of male citizen-identities were promoted in the material. In line with the findings in other chapters in this research, the discourse of participation was central to publicity aimed at men. This chapter aims to illustrate how the discourse of participation was visualised through rhetoric of adventure and camaraderie, and it will evaluate how central citizen-soldier identities were in appeals to patriotic citizenship.

Finally, chapter 5 will demonstrate how images of the wounded soldiers body in pictorial publicity figured as a site of ideological and aesthetic contestation during the First World War. It will maintain that in First World War publicity, images of injured and disabled soldiers negotiate complex territory between contemporary ideas about disability and deservedness. As in the previous chapter, it will look towards pre-war notions of patriarchal masculinity and soldiering to establish how conflicting discourses around disability, masculinity and citizenship informed the representation of the disabled body. It will further discuss how

articulations of war woundedness contributed to the rhetoric of patriotic citizenship and the new citizen-identities that were produced in the process. The conclusion will bring together the strands of overlapping discourse that thread throughout each of the case studies examined in this research.

Because the primary source material used by this thesis is drawn exclusively from IWM's 'War Publicity' collection, this chapter will examine the history of the pictorial publicity archive. Arguments made in this thesis stress the importance of analysing and contextualising pictorial publicity as a mass rather than focusing on exceptional and overused examples of well-designed posters. Tom Nesmith argues that in the pursuit of understanding, it is necessary to do away with the traditional notion that archivists simply receive and store records as a way to simply reflect any given period within society.¹¹⁰ Rather, in their methods of collecting, collating and categorising, archivists play a significant role in shaping the knowledge in records, and consequently shaping societal memory.¹¹¹ As this chapter will propose, through tracing the history of the 'War Publicity' archive it becomes apparent that curators, archivists and external partners at IWM have impacted the way that pictorial publicity has been mediated and understood.

IWM are known to house one of the most complete collections of British posters released during the First World War. Yet what survives today as one of the most important poster collections in Britain is not what its originator had intended. What is lesser known is that the poster collection is just a part of a much larger collection of war publicity amassed between 1917 and 1922 by the museum's second Director General, Lesley Ripley Bradley.¹¹² Held in storage at the Duxford branch of IWM, the war publicity collection originally comprised over 35,000 items; including, posters, press advertisements, official proclamations, public notices,

110 T. Nesmith, 'Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives' in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Spring/Summer, 2002), pp. 24-41, p. 27.

111 Ibid.

112 That the First World War poster collection was once part of a much larger collection of ephemeral material that included posters, leaflets, pamphlets, proclamations or public notices, commercial advertisements, stamps, show cards, badges, cartoons and postcards was discovered by Professor James Aulich during the 2003-2006 *Posters of Conflict* project. Aulich discovered this 'hidden history' when he conducted research into the history of poster acquisitions at IWM and discovered through Bradley's correspondence archive that posters were just one part of a mass of material pursued and collected by Bradley between 1917 and 1922.

pamphlets, stamps, show cards and cartoons.¹¹³ Since dispersed between the Department of Art and the Department of Proclamations, the collection has been taxonomically divided, and reduced in size. Now, as the museum gears itself for the centenary, Bradley's war publicity collection has become his legacy. Bradley intended the collection to provide, on the one hand, an encyclopaedic record of the war's impact on popular visual commercial culture, and on the other, evidence of the impact of total war on everyday life.¹¹⁴ He also saw the collection as an insightful resource for the advertising industry, providing valuable perspectives on divergent national practices.¹¹⁵

THE WAR PUBLICITY COLLECTION TODAY

Currently, Bradley's war publicity collection resides between the Department of Art and the Department of Proclamations. The poster collection, residing in the Art Department comprises 18,643 works. It is the largest war poster collection in the UK and has an international scope. Posters of the First World War are the earliest held at the museum, and by far the most numerous. Thanks to Bradley's unending determination, the collection contains every genre of war poster from every belligerent nation. This includes army recruiting posters from Britain, Russia, the US and Germany, and material relating to war loans and savings, charitable events, sporting events, women's services, food and fuel economies, war work recruiting and publicity for war related exhibitions, plays, books, films, lectures, garden parties and other cultural events. These are mainly mass produced lithographic designs though the collection contains a small number of original art work designs for posters.

113 Imperial War Museums Archive (IWM), *Annual Report of the Imperial War Museum, Departmental Records: Publicity Section, 1922-1923*, EN1/1/REPD/004. By May 1923, the report details that the publicity section comprises 35,280 items.

114 Bradley kept a record of all correspondence with potential donors. The correspondence details frequently details his reasons for collecting examples of publicity to demonstrate a 'live record of the war for the man on the street'. See IWM, *Lesley Bradley: Correspondence, 1917-1919*, IWM AD

115 L. R. Bradley to H. A. Wallis of the Advertising Association, Letter (18 September 1918), IWM, *Lesley Bradley: Correspondence, 1917-1919*, IWM AD.

The First World War publicity collection is currently much smaller, comprising 801 catalogued items. However, in the strong room where the collection is stored in plan chests, a further 6 cardboard boxes are filled with examples of war publicity. These items have been photographed and documented in the course of this research project and many of these materials have been used as case studies within this thesis, or provided invaluable contextual research allowing representative overarching themes within First World War visual culture to emerge unaffected by what the museum has made publically available. Still, even with the additional uncatalogued material, the war publicity side of Bradley's collection dwindles in comparison to the posters. Through conversations with staff at IWM and researchers working with the museum it seems that Bradley's preservation methods are to blame for the dwindling size of the 'War Publicity' collection. He had a practice of pasting ephemeral paper material to manila card and as a result much of the collection sustained serious damage. This provided museum staff with a remit for disposal, and a large portion of the war publicity collection has been destroyed.

Beyond the First World War collection, holdings are broad but not as complete. Nonetheless the inter-war collection comprises material covering French Reconstruction Loans publicity, battlefield tourism, British army and navy recruiting and posters relating to the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the formation of the USSR. The collection also covers the inter-war period in Germany, holding posters relating to the German November Revolution including the Spartacist insurrection and Freikorps recruiting and material covering the rise of German National Socialism. It further holds posters from both the Nationalist and Republican sides in the Spanish Civil War. Without Bradley spearheading acquisitions of material, the museum was reliant on being sent donations of material from producers of publicity. Therefore the Second World War collection focuses mainly on the British government's home front campaigns including posters related to *Dig for Victory*, *Make Do and Mend* and *Coughs and Sneezes Spread Diseases* campaigns. In addition, it covers campaigns related to war savings, air raid precautions, food economy and health and hygiene and campaigns orchestrated by London Transport, the General Post Office and the Communist Party of

Great Britain. Post-war the collection includes posters addressing British reconstruction. The museum also holds a collection of posters relating to the forty years of Communist rule in East Germany. The transformation of the poster as a medium for protest in the Cold War era is covered with examples of material from the 1960s peace and anti-Vietnam war movements through to the rise of CND anti-nuclear campaigns and more recently the 2003 protest against the Iraq War in Britain overseen by the Stop the War Coalition.

LESLEY RIPLEY BRADLEY AND THE 'WAR PUBLICITY' COLLECTION: A HISTORY

Lesley Bradley joined IWM as Keeper of Posters in June 1917 upon his discharge from the army.¹¹⁶ He owed his job to Charles Ffoulkes, the museum's first curator and secretary with whom he had attended the same Oxford College. Before joining the army, Bradley had aspired to be an advertiser and his interest was reflected in his ardent collecting and personal correspondence. He recounted on the war publicity in 1917, stating:

'On my discharge from the army I was put on the staff of the National War Museum and the whole idea of this section was my suggestion. It started with an idea of collecting official proclamations and posters issued in connection with the war. These were so extremely uninteresting and bad that I determined in order to show that British advertisers can do splendid work, to collect examples of all forms of posters, press advertisements etc. from private sources which use the war as a subject for either copy or illustration. I think by this means it is possible to put on record a really 'live' history of the war as it affected 'The Man in the Street'. This will be a gigantic task but I feel sure it can be done and that it will be most unique and interesting.'¹¹⁷

116 By October 1917 Bradley had been promoted to the position of Assistant Secretary, though by July 1918 he is referred to as 'Keeper of War Publicity' in the museum's reports; presumably a result of his ardent collecting in the area. See IWM, *National War Museum Minutes of the Committee Meeting, June 1917-July 1918*, EN1/1/COM/002.

117 Bradley in a letter to Gordon & Gotch Advertising Contractors, IWM, *Bradley Correspondance*, 9 October 1917, IWM AD.

Notably, Bradley recognised the value of collecting material from both official and private enterprise. By the time efforts to establish a museum dedicated to the First World War were realised in 1917, a wealth of ephemeral material relating to the war had already been produced. Printed ephemera is an umbrella term for a multitude of materials. However, defined simply, it is print matter that is created for a specific purpose, and not expected to survive once that purpose has been fulfilled.¹¹⁸ Herein lies the significance of Bradley's collection. Reflecting the original collecting policy of the museum, the war publicity collection was intended as an all-embracing visual record of war, and arguably an index of the impact of total war on people's everyday lives and self-understandings. Bradley recognised that war publicity was worthy of preservation. More importantly, his approach did not lie within museological boundaries. The only parameter that Bradley attached to the collection was that it must be related to the war. As a result, the collection can truly be considered as representative of First World War visual culture.

With the future researcher in mind, he set out to provide a complete record of the impact of the First World War. In a letter to the Alliance Advertising Association in 1918 he outlined his reasons for building this collection, stating:

'There are the advertisements of firms which cater in various ways for the need and comfort of the troops and then there are many advertisements which carry war illustrations or appeals to war economy etc. We consider it possible to illustrate in this way every phase of the war, and its results in the social and economic aspects. Any advertisement therefore which bears in any way a topical reference to war measures and conditions is included in this collection.'¹¹⁹

118 The term 'ephemera' derives from the Greek term 'epi' meaning on and the Latin term 'Hemera' meaning day. In Etymology ephemera is a genus of insects often called Day-flies or May-flies, so termed because their last stage of existence is generally limited to 24 hours.

119 L. R. Bradley to H. A. Wallis of the Advertising Association, Letter (18 September 1918), IWM, *Lesley Bradley: Correspondence, 1917-1919*, IWM AD.

In his efforts to record the role of war publicity during the First World War, Bradley documented the original age of what Maurice Rickards has termed the ‘multiple message’.¹²⁰ New technologies and methods of distribution had changed the face of the nineteenth century printing industry. When war descended on Europe, following a brief lull in the advertising industry, the art of printing, the archetype of mass production, became a weapon of war as relevant as the manufacturing of munitions. On an unprecedented scale, the multiple message burgeoned, fanning the flame of war through print. There was austere material; charitable pleas and official proclamations; the middling range of government recruitment posters and economic materials whose sober themes were usually not reflected in the message of the image; and then there was milder produce; advertisements, charity flags, leaflets, books and various other ephemera. Here, in print, was a record of how the meaning of war was communicated to the British population.

During his time at IWM, Bradley divided the collection under three headings; official advertising, commercial advertising and miscellaneous publicity matter. The first heading included all posters and press advertisements issued from official sources relating to recruiting, war savings, food economy and the Defence of the Realm Act. Under the second heading he collected all commercial advertising which bore a topical reference to war measures and conditions either in copy or in illustration. For instance advertisements which announced restrictions, shortages of raw material, change in price or the appeal to economy or that emphasised the utility of certain goods at the front or in some other connection with the war. Under the third heading he put any form of publicity matter that was issued as a result of the war. This included charity announcements, sporting events, lectures and other miscellaneous events connected with the war. Notably, unlike the current cataloguing system, posters were not viewed by Bradley as material separate from the rest of war publicity. For Bradley, it was the theme and content of the material that was important, rather than the form that it took.¹²¹

120 M. Rickards and M. Moody, *First World War: Mementoes, Ephemera and Documents* (London: Jupiter Books, 1975), p. 7.

121 The first report of Imperial War Museum lists nine museum sections; ‘Library’ which includes books, documents, paper money, war tokens, bread cards, passes, plans, postage stamps, pamphlets and

Even as early as 1917, Bradley's collection attracted interest from the advertising trade. In a letter to Bradley, Thomas Russell, the prominent advertising consultant, member of the Voluntary Recruiting Publicity Committee and author of *The Control of Selling*, invited Bradley to deliver a talk on the collection to a group of advertising specialists at the Aldwych Club. Bradley, viewing himself as an amateur enthusiast and perhaps insecure of his own position in such company, suggested that he might attend the meeting to speak with members of the advertising community individually, but suggested that another person might be more suitable to speak to the group. The potential for the collection as a showcase for the design of British advertising and publicity and as a record of the war reflected in visual culture had been recognised. By 1918 Bradley was in contact with Charles Higham, head of the Caxton Advertising Agency and advisor to the government on war publicity. Driven by Bradley, IWM had approved the organisation of a committee on 'Publicity and the Great War' and he was keen for Higham to act as chairman.¹²² In a letter to Charles Ffoukes, Secretary of IWM, Bradley explained that the committee would be useful in helping the museum to obtain examples of war publicity that had evaded them to date.¹²³ An exhibition of the museum's collection to be held for the advertising community was also planned, but did not come to fruition.

Bradley's long-standing ambition to enter the advertising trade may well explain the scale of the collection. The collection is a reflection of his interests in advertising and publicity and there is no doubt that the material would not have been acquired by the museum were it not for his foresight. Baudrillard suggests that the act of collecting is invariably linked with the

war maps; 'Publicity Records' which includes posters, placards, proclamations and cartoons; 'Photographic Section'; 'Art Section' containing works of art; 'Children's Section' which includes models, dolls, toys and souvenirs; 'War Amulets' containing a collection of charms, mascots and amulets; 'Medals' and 'Women's Work Section' which dealt with the war activities of women including nursing and other medical services, auxiliary Army and Navy records, relief work, industrial substitution economy' and agriculture. IWM, *Report of Imperial War Museum, 1917-1918* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1918).

122 Letter from Bradley to Charles Higham, IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, 23 July 1918. He states 'I should esteem it a very great honour if, in the midst of your innumerable war activities, you would accept the chairmanship of this committee. Your unique knowledge of the subject and your wide experiences of its many branches both in this country and in America, will be of invaluable service to the museum.'

123 Letter from Bradley to Charles Ffoukes, IWM *Bradley Correspondence*, 16 July 1918, IWM AD.

image of the self.¹²⁴ In this sense, Bradley's failed ambitions in advertising were transferred to his early career as a curator. His appreciation of the extent to which the war was reflected in ephemeral material, and his belief that it was important to retain such material for future generations fuelled his collecting habits. It may also go some way towards explaining why Bradley seemed to easily distance himself from the collection in later years.¹²⁵ Baudrillard discusses how the collector is often driven to collect as a result of alienation from social discourse, or a sense of feeling lost.¹²⁶ Through the act of collecting he or she is able to establish an alternative discourse that is amenable because the signifiers of this constructed social discourse are dictated by themselves.¹²⁷ One could speculate that Bradley, recently invalided out of the war, and in a new career in which he had no experience, naturally gravitated towards his comfort zone. Immersing himself in the act of acquiring for the museum a complete set of war publicity to retain a sense of independence in his new situation. As he climbed the ranks of museum administration to eventually become Director General, his personal interests changed accordingly and he never again rekindled his early fascination with war publicity. As has been mentioned previously in this chapter, although Bradley remained with the museum throughout the Second World War, the museum did not actively pursue material of the kind that he collected in his early days at the institution.¹²⁸

124 J. Baudrillard 'The System of Collecting' in J. Elsner and R. Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 12.

125 In November 1952 Bradley received a letter from a W.H. Davison at the War Office. He notes 'Among some old records relating to the 1914-1918 War, a note was found with the enclosed parcel of posters. The note dated 12th December, 1918 was written by the then Deputy Director of Army Printing and Stationary Services of G.H.Q., 2nd Echelon in France, and indicated that these specimen posters should have been transmitted to the Imperial War Museum at that time. The note would seem to connect with a request signed by you and dated 20th November, 1918, for copies of posters printed (at G.H.Q.) in France, but there is no record of these having been dispatched. The posters are now forwarded and the need for them may still exist, if not, would you be good enough to destroy them.' In December Bradley replied stating 'The parcel of posters which accompanied your letter of 29th November revived some very old memories. The posters were interesting after this passage of time and some do not seem as important now as they did at the time of issue. Nevertheless some gaps in our series are filled and we are very grateful to you for sending them on. Anyway it is'nt [sic] often one has a reply to a letter after 34 years.' Later in 1958 Bradley received a parcel of German proclamations relating to the First World War, in reply, he wrote 'During and after that War we made a collection running into thousands of these occupation posters because at the time they were thought to be interesting and likely to be of historical importance. In point of fact no one has ever expressed any interest in them whatever, and they have remained undisturbed ever since.' See IWM, *Bradley Posters*, EN2/1/GOV/085.

126 Baudrillard 'The System of Collecting', p. 24.

127 Ibid.

128 Although the level of his initial interest in war publicity was not sustained throughout Bradley's

Nonetheless, between 1917-1922 his approach to collecting the material was extremely thorough, and the acquisitions correspondence reveal Bradley's pursuit of material for the collection as bordering on the obsessive.¹²⁹ Baudrillard describes the act of collecting as a form of fanaticism.¹³⁰ The collector's passion, Baudrillard suggests is always identical in that pleasure is derived from the possibility of acquiring a 'set or series of like items'.¹³¹ Though the character of the collection is quantitative, its organisation is usually qualitative, as each 'privileged piece' is scrutinised and organised.¹³² In the two years between 1917 and 1919, Bradley wrote literally hundreds of letters requesting material. As a subscriber to all of the trade journals on advertising available at the time, in addition to general newspapers, weeklies and journals, Bradley seemingly scoured the pages on the hunt for material that would complete his collection.¹³³ He wrote to *Advertisers Weekly* making the advertising community aware of his endeavour and sent requests for material to advertising agents and government departments.¹³⁴ Ever the conscientious curator in a time of austerity, Bradley rarely paid for his material, and would not take no for an answer, sometimes presuming to know better than they agencies themselves whether they had produced work that made reference to the war or not.

By the end of 1919, material was becoming increasingly scarce and expensive and by the early 1920s collecting had almost come to a halt. Moreover, the 'War Publicity' collection appeared to have a low ranking in the museum compared to other collections. Despite the

employment at IWM, as Director-General in the 1950s, Bradley retained personal stewardship of the poster collection, notably taking delivery of "64 parcels of posters" in March 1951 as part of the 4th Marquis of Bute donation. This suggests that Bradley maintained a sense of ownership over the War Publicity collection. In 1963 he completely ceded control of the collection to the Department of Exhibits.

129 See IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, IWM AD.

130 J. Baudrillard 'The System of Collecting', p. 8.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Bradley regularly approached companies or advertising agencies directly to inform them that he would like to request a copy of a particular advertisement that he had come across in his reading. See IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, IWM AD.

134 A 1917 article in *Advertisers Weekly* lauded Bradley's endeavour stating 'there can be no doubt that a more intimate and veracious reflection of the ever changing effect of war-time upon the life of the people could be given by such a collection of advertising matter than by any other means.' *Advertisers Weekly*, 'An Ambitious Scheme' (Nov, 1917), p. 277.

title 'Publicity Records' having been approved by the General Committee of the IWM in July 1918, by April 1919 it had been renamed the 'Poster Section'.¹³⁵ As a further example of the museums indifference towards the collection, a permanent 'Publicity Records' display in the museum frequently discussed in Bradley's correspondence also failed to materialise, although the posters were available to browse in plan chests.¹³⁶ In spite of Bradley's wish to showcase a broad collection of war publicity, the poster maintained a higher status within the institution. This is arguably attributable to the pre-existing market for posters of the type designed by the French Art Nouveau poster artists and the history of poster design as a sub-category of the history of art.

In June 1919, an exhibition of war posters curated by Bradley was held at the Grafton Galleries. The exhibition showcased four hundred poster examples, the majority of which were from non-British territories. Bradley explained in a letter to R G Praill of the Avenue Press that this was a deliberate choice. He reasoned that British posters were already familiar to the public, and they would therefore be naturally more interested to see 'foreign, and therefore unfamiliar' examples.¹³⁷ The posters were displayed according to their country of origin, and as sole selector of the material to be included, Bradley did not prioritise aesthetics or design over content. In response to a complaint from R G Praill in June 1919 that the exhibition did not contain enough British posters, Bradley replied:

'Of the very few British posters shown some were exhibited purely from the point of view of interest and not as a result of their artistic merit... As a matter of fact the selection committee consisted only of myself. My collection here is being made primarily as a form of war record from which historians may find material for their work and in the nature of things, the artistic merit of a poster must be of secondary importance.'¹³⁸

135 Letter from Bradley to Ffoukes, IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, 7 April 1919 IWM AD. A note in the correspondence from Ffoukes to Bradley refers to the collection as the 'poster collection' as early as 31 December 1918 but it is unclear whether the name had officially been changed by this point.

136 Materials other than posters included in the 'Publicity Records' section were kept in storage.

137 Letter from L R Bradley to R G Praill, IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, 10 June 1919, IWM AD.

138 Letter from L R Bradley to R G Praill, IWM, *Bradley Correspondence*, 10 June 1919, IWM AD.

Another exhibition showcasing Bradley's collection was held at the museum itself in 1925. As Bradley moved away from collecting he turned his efforts to cataloguing the mass of material that had been acquired. In the 1930s when asked to deliver a talk on the posters, Bradley declined, claiming he knew little on the subject.¹³⁹ Both he and the museum had moved on from its early innovative position and war publicity collecting did not carry on into the Second World War on the scale that it had done for the first. A major exhibition of war posters would not be held again by the institution until 1972.

Over the years, the vast majority of the material was split up and distributed amongst various departments. In 1969 the posters were acquired by the Art Department on the instigation of Joseph Darracott, Keeper of Art and Michael Moody, Research Officer. The rest of the publicity material was left to reside with the Department of Proclamations. While this is a seemingly natural split, it has unwittingly reinforced the multiple allegiances of the war publicity collection that have sealed its fate as a previous tool for research. Poster design has taken the leading role as an autonomous practice, while the historical context and the context in which they were seen has been overlooked. The archive is not a neutral space. The notion of the impartial archive has been undermined by post-modern philosophical and theoretical thought.¹⁴⁰ Archives are spaces of power, a power which rests with the archive's ability to allow certain narratives to be heard. As Rodney Carter has argued, when records are manipulated or excluded, certain narratives cannot be transmitted across time, and are ultimately reduced to silence.¹⁴¹ Archivists are continuously confronted with choices about what to include or discount in collections of material. Combined with a lack of specialised subject knowledge, and limited resources, it is often the case that not all material is allotted an equal amount of attention. However, decisions regarding how records are taxonomically compiled and organised have a crucial impact on the way that archives are systemised, and

139 IWM, *Bradley Posters*, EN2/1/GOV/085.

140 See Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever* and Michel Foucault 'The Archeology of Knowledge'. Informed by the work of these two theorists, the concept of the 'archive' has been the subject of interrogation by scholars in numerous fields.

141 R G S Carter, 'Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences and Power in Silence' in *Archivaria* (2006), pp. 216-233, p. 219.

consequently, on how collections are shaped and understood. At IWM, Bradley's foresight in collecting wartime ephemera has been obstructed by the war publicity materials' failure to sit comfortably within a constricted taxonomic framework. Posters have remained in the realm of art, where commercial publicity and official proclamations has been relegated to obscurity.

Methods of storing the posters during the period of Darracott and Moody would further impact the way that the collection has been understood by researchers. In order to address issues of access and conservation the Art Department created a core collection of 1,920 posters. The contents of the primary collection were at this point recatalogued and made available for viewing in the Art Print Room located at IWM's Lambeth Road site. In line with the interests of the Art Department the posters elevated to the primary collection were chosen with a connoisseurial approach for their aesthetic appeal, or for specific design interests, while seemingly more visually mundane examples remained at Duxford, inaccessible to researchers. What was left, according to Richard Slocombe, current Senior Curator of Art, was

'a selection of examples of iconic posters, so you had the Kitchener pointing poster, and then other examples that were mainly chosen for their aesthetic qualities... the rest, was just deposited at Duxford and just left there I think as a kind of reserve collection I suppose... at the time we're talking about the late 60s, early 70s... we're not really thinking about posters as publicity, it's been thought of as more of a design collection I think really and we're not looking at them as a kind of mass medium, but more as a containable connoisseurial approach.'¹⁴²

This was a turning point for the accessibility and use of poster images in research. It is worth briefly noting that by the mid 1970s, when such privileging of certain war posters over

142 L. Green, 13 February 2015, London, *Interview with Richard Slocombe at IWM London*, appendix II.

See also Aulich, 'Posters of Conflict: The Visual Culture of Public and Counter Information', 63rd Bulletin of the Moravian Gallery in Brno, Moravian Gallery, Brno, 2007, pp. 103-118.

both broader war publicity, and over other, less-aesthetically pleasing posters took place, the three primary volumes on First World War publicity all depended to some extent on the First World War collection held at IWM.¹⁴³ Derrida's ideas in *Archive Fever* are useful for articulating how such formulations can impact on the way that archived material is mediated and understood. For Derrida, the archive is power laden through its institutionalisation. Drawing on the opening of a Freud Museum as his example, Derrida observes how the status of the museum institution means that documents retained in that archive are only: 'kept and classified by virtue of a privileged topology. They inhabit this uncommon place [the archive], this place of election where law and singularity intersect in privilege.'¹⁴⁴ It is clear from this statement that Derrida views the archive as a space of power. The privileging of information in the archive by the inclusion of some documents over others contributes to relations of power through what is made seeable and what is made unseeable. For Derrida, the archive carries the historical connotation of the *arché*, it is the source of, and beginning for the production of knowledge.¹⁴⁵ If Derrida's notion of the archive as a space of power is intersected with Baudrillard's theory of collecting, it is possible to see how through the act of archiving a document and thereby allowing it to inhabit an 'uncommon place', the archived object is removed from its place of meaning. For the examples of war publicity displayed in the Art Print Room archive, this means that the researcher is presented with a fundamentally flawed collection of material upon which to draw conclusions because it is not representative of what the public would have viewed during the First World War. Writing about Derrida's notion of the archive, David Gauthier and Erin La Cour further observe how the institution actively seeks homogeneity within the archive to maintain order

143 The three primary volumes on First World War posters by this stage are J. Darracott, *The First World War in Posters* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974); M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London: Evelyn, Adams & McCay, 1968); M. Hardie and A. Sabin, *War Posters Issues by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* (London: A & C Black Ltd, 1920). The examples in the Darracott and Rickards' publications are drawn exclusively from the IWM collection. Arthur Sabin was based at the Victoria and Albert Museum when he selected the posters for *War Posters Issues by Belligerent and Neutral Nations* and liaised with Bradley to acquire copies of posters for his institution and for examples to be included in the book. As a design institution, the Victoria and Albert Museum was obviously led by aesthetic considerations in choosing images for the book.

144 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 4.

145 Although Derrida does not believe the archive to be the sum of all knowledge, he argues that the archive shelters within it the memory of the *arché*. Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 4.

and authority.¹⁴⁶ From the 1970s, the Art Department at IWM privileged examples of good or unusual design over the banal. And in doing so caused the exception to become the norm. To return to the earlier point about how, at the point of creating new taxonomies for the collection in 1972, the three primary books on war posters relied on IWM's Print Room Archive, such privileging of information arguably caused a trickle-down effect on the understanding of war posters. Whereby those who produce the books were only ever drawing on those examples that had been deemed by IWM to be worthy of inspection. Exceptional poster designs became archetypal examples of First World War visual culture. More importantly, researchers attempting to engage with First World War publicity relied on such volumes to draw their examples from. Therefore examples of publicity likely to have been encountered by the British public day-to-day have been ignored in analysis' of the period.¹⁴⁷ Drawing on Derrida's idea in *Archive Fever*, Tom Nesmith makes the point that the way that information is communicated in the archive can shape understandings of what is taken to be 'real'.¹⁴⁸ As such, one could speculate that IWM, though unintentionally, had acquired a monopoly over war publicity and the way it has been understood.

It was this 'establishment of a canon' in the print room that James Aulich determined to interrogate when the *Posters of Conflict* project was conceived in 2002.¹⁴⁹ *Posters of Conflict* enabled the digital documentation and publication of the majority of IWM's poster collection.¹⁵⁰ The project was based at Duxford from May 2003, where the majority of the poster collection was stored. 10,132 posters were digitised and uploaded to VADS for public consumption. In addition, detailed catalogue records were created for each poster. The act of digitising the poster collection effectively democratised access. Viewers could search

146 D. Gauthier and E. La Cour, 'Coding/Decoding the Archive' in C. Ianniciello, M Orabona, A De Angelis et al (eds.), *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), p. 231.

147 This is a particular issue for charitable and commercial material.

148 Nesmith, 'Seeing Archives', p. 29.

149 L. Green, 18 February 2015, Manchester, *Interview with James Aulich at Manchester Metropolitan University*, appendix I.

150 All posters excluding American and Russian posters relating to the Cold War were documented during *Posters of Conflict*. It was expected at the time that this would form a later project. The American and Russian posters were eventually digitised by IWM and are available to view on VADS.

through the collection using endless options, allowing posters to be immediately grouped according to a multiplicity of visual and textual codes. Richard Slocombe who began his career at IWM as a Documentation Officer on the project observes how unrestrained virtual exploration of the poster collection meant that ‘hitherto unseen relationships between posters that would have taken years to emerge through physical sifting could be revealed almost instantaneously.’¹⁵¹ He further argues that ‘it quickly exposed the singular narrative of the “war poster” offered by the IWM Art Print Room as inflexible and moribund.’¹⁵² While previously, limited access to only a ‘curated’ selection of posters had led to an increased focus on more visually appealing or interesting posters, *Posters of Conflict* effectively stripped the collection of institutionalised parameters, thereby democratising access.

Weapons of Mass Communication, a 2007 exhibition held at IWM and curated by James Aulich was the culmination of *Posters of Conflict*. *Weapons of Mass Communication* ventured to establish how the exploitation of emotional appeals to patriotism, guilt and loyalty had been expressed through the visual language of twentieth century war posters. Drawing exclusively on the IWM collection, the exhibition was heavily weighted towards the display of posters from the First World War.¹⁵³ The exhibition set out to explore the ‘methods of persuasion employed by the various official and voluntary agencies to encourage recruitment, raise money for the war effort and to sustain charitable organisations’.¹⁵⁴ Growing out of Aulich’s knowledge of the posters and their historical context gained during *Posters of Conflict*, the exhibition was presented both chronologically and thematically, engaging with issues such as ‘The Family’, ‘The Enemy’ and ‘The Fighting Man’.¹⁵⁵ Ruminating on the exhibition later, Aulich observes how from the initial conception of *Weapons of Mass Communication*, his

151 L. Green, 13 February 2015, London, *Interview with Richard Slocombe at IWM London*, appendix II.

152 Slocombe Interview, appendix II.

153 This was a natural consequence of the fact that it drew exclusively on IWM collections which contain more material relating to the First World War than any other twentieth century war.

154 J. Aulich, ‘Exhibition Proposal from James Aulich to Art Department at Imperial War Museums’, appendix III.

155 See J. Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007) for a complete list of themes and to view the posters included in the exhibition.

ambition had been to redress popular perceptions of war publicity through the inclusion of seemingly unexceptional and banal designs.¹⁵⁶ Slocombe, who co-curated the show recalls how *Posters of Conflict* had opened up the collection and enabled the curators to approach poster propaganda in a ‘new way’ for the exhibition.¹⁵⁷ He observes:

‘What we could have done, was produce a highlights selection of the collection as it were, and we could have treated it like art and had a nice linear hang of aesthetically interesting [posters] and fine examples of design but we didn’t take that approach...it was about how ideas were communicated through the medium of the poster and what sorts of messages were being communicated, rather than just zeroing in on certain examples of poster. So aesthetics didn’t really come into it, even though there was a lot of very attractive and inviting posters included in the show. That wasn’t the principal concern. It was to think about the posters as a medium, essentially, of mass communication, as is suggested in the title.’¹⁵⁸

Presented as a mass, the exhibition allowed the audience to view the visual language present in war posters for themselves and replicated the way that posters are often displayed within the public landscape as groupings. This method of display resituated war posters as publicity, rather than as art.

The future of the war publicity collection has seemingly come full circle. Corresponding with the research carried out during *Posters of Conflict*, the *Weapons of Mass Communication* exhibition, and this thesis, in late 2014 Slocombe proposed to IWM that the Bradley collection of War Publicity be reunited once again. Commenting on the argument for reuniting the posters with the ‘Proclamations’ collection, Slocombe states:

156 L. Green, *Interview with James Aulich*, appendix I.

157 L. Green, *Interview with Richard Slocombe*, appendix II.

158 L. Green, *Interview with Richard Slocombe*, appendix II.

‘They’re all dealing with the same imagery, all wanting to achieve the same outcome, it is just the forms they take which is different. By zeroing in on different forms, you lose the bigger picture.’

Slocombe’s proposal was accepted by the Collections Group at IWM and work is scheduled to begin in 2015.

CONCLUSION

The remaining chapters in this study draw exclusively on the ‘War Publicity’ collection to contribute to a scholarly understanding about how meanings about the First World War were visually articulated in print media and subsequently communicated to the British public between 1914 and 1918. As discussed in the introduction, it will focus on four key areas: citizenship; Belgium; masculinity; and wounded soldiers, assessing how overlapping discourses present in each worked to stimulate support for British war aims. This research makes the assumption that pictorial publicity matters. That the world of publicity is an imagined space which enables viewers to create perceived realities through inserting themselves into the image. Gerry Beegan observes how in the nineteenth century the mass image enabled the public to conceptualise society.¹⁵⁹ It did so by exploiting a sense of collective identity which was not pre-existing.¹⁶⁰ The war was a time of upheaval and vast change. The following chapters aim to examine how such a difficult period could be expressed and grasped through its representations.

159 G. Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Cultural History of Photomechanical Production in Victorian London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 2.

160 Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p. 2.

Benedict Anderson, whose *Imagined Communities* has had an unrivalled influence on studies of national identity, has argued that the advent of print capitalism was one of the most influential events in laying the groundwork for a national consciousness.¹⁶¹ In addition to the obvious effect of being able to spread ideas more widely and rapidly, print culture impacted notions of citizenship, patriotism, and a sense of belonging to a nation by making it possible for increasing numbers of viewers to think about themselves and how they relate to others.¹⁶² In First World War publicity, visual languages of patriotism and citizenship were integral for convincing the public to support the national war effort. In doing so, publicity was able to lend legitimacy to sections of society that were previously under-recognised. In the government recruiting campaigns, working class men who did not have the vote were visually acknowledged as having a place in society as important as that of the middle and upper classes. In home front war publicity campaigns women were given active roles, pictured contributing to the war effort through war work. In the voluntary rationing campaigns, the domestic servant found herself addressed as her responsibility of preparing food was made an important part of winning the war. Pictorial representations had a democratising influence, whereby during the period of national crisis, visual rhetorics of citizenship stressed class harmony and a sense of common purpose. This was reinforced by print media, by allowing those that would never meet to feel a sense of commonality.¹⁶³ In war publicity, notions of citizenship, and of being a *good* citizen became defined by willing participation in the war effort, as opposed to legal rights and obligations.

This chapter argues that a more nuanced approach to citizenship is central to understanding how it has been appropriated as a form of disciplinary power in war publicity. The core

161 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]), p. 37.

162 Ibid, p. 37.

163 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 38.

message of pictorial propaganda designed to convince British people to support the war effort revolves around the notion that ‘patriotic duty’ and ‘citizenship’ are inter-dependent and inter-relational. Throughout this chapter I will use the term ‘patriotic citizenship’ to refer to a form of citizenship which emerged between 1914 and 1918 that relied on this inter-dependent relationship. Put simply, patriotic citizenship has been introduced to describe a visual language that is present in First World War publicity. One which is reliant on convincing the viewer that in order to be a good British citizen one must participate in specific acts such as buying war bonds, joining the army, economising and donating money to war charities in order to contribute to the common national cause. This concept draws on Foucauldian notions concerned with biopower and disciplinary power to explain how pictorial publicity worked to produce ‘docile bodies’ of citizens.¹⁶⁴ It does so through characterising certain behavioural traits and the visibility of such traits as a requirement of good citizenship, and, by contrast, non-compliance with such traits as the behaviour of non-citizen subjects. Patriotic citizenship enhances understanding of the nature and operation of power because it is not restricted to considering the legal rights and obligations of citizenship. It is important to note that this thesis does not claim that patriotic citizenship represents the only visual language present in First World War publicity. It was developed in response to a realisation that images which represent, and in doing so, attempt to appeal to, the British public do not easily fall into the camp of either straight-forward patriotism, nor citizenship. Rather the war created the conditions whereby the two were merged in their representation of everyday acts of prescribed forms of participation in war-related activities. And in doing so, created the opportunity for the pictorial recognition of new sections of society.

164 Foucault demonstrates how biopower connects governmental power to conceptions of human nature and is therefore a form of power aimed at governing populations through self-management. According to Foucault biopower emerges when individuals and populations become an important part of governing through making contributions to the strength and well-being of the state. M. Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: Seminar: Selected Papers*, ed. by L.H. Martin, H. Gutman and P. Hutton (Armhurst: University of Massachussetts Press, 1988), pp. 152-156.

The examples of pictorial publicity analysed in this thesis rarely rely on overtly nationalist symbols such as the flag, or allegorical representations such as Britannia to convince the British public to support the war. Rather, they rely on visually expressing acts of participation in the war effort as key to being a good British citizen; and it is such visual expressions that are dependent on encouraging patriotic citizenship. The work of Michael Billig has been useful in developing the concept of patriotic citizenship in terms of considering how it has been represented within the visual language of the First World War in Britain. Billig observes how the term ‘nationalism’, which in essence means a sense of belonging to and supporting one’s nation, is misleading in that it locates nationalism on the periphery.¹⁶⁵ It is associated with the separatists, and with the extremists, with Nazi Germany or Communist Russia.¹⁶⁶ Yet, there is more to the term than extremes: the way in which entire nations respond to periods of crises and the way they support their nation in the in-between times, depends upon pre-existing ideologies located in the values, and the representation of those values which belong to any given nation. In the way that habits, representations, visual languages and practices are reproduced to ‘represent nations and their citizenry as nationals’.¹⁶⁷ Billig makes such observations to argue the case for ‘banal nationalism’, that being the everyday, commonplace nationalism represented by, for example, an American flag hanging daily outside a bank, as opposed to a flag waved fervently in support of one’s country.¹⁶⁸ Billig is most usefully applied to this study in his focus on the salience of visual representations of nationalism within everyday national cultures. Banal nationalism represents the ‘ideological habits that enable nations to be reproduced.’¹⁶⁹ In his argument, Billig has paved the way for finding new ways of seeing representations of patriotism and nationalism in the visual language of nations. I will argue that through an examination of visual languages present in a varied range of war publicity material, we can see how governing bodies regulated and managed individuals in Britain using rationalities, practices, narratives and discourses

165 M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), p.5.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid, p. 6.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid.

specific to patriotic citizenship, and we can also reflect on what type of citizen-identities were constructed and/or represented in the process. We can evaluate how the representation of patriotic citizenship in war publicity both constrains and produces certain citizen-identities, and at the same time how through ‘policing’ non-participatory behaviours, it contracts some British citizens as authentic, and non-participators as non-citizen subjects.

From 1914 civic duty characterised by aiding one’s fellow countrymen became national duty. Yet it retained the same behavioural elements, as the concept of contributing to the national cause was increasingly represented as aiding one’s fellow citizens. The war drew participation in acts of civic duty under increasing observation and citizenship became fused with civilian morale and social cohesiveness. An example of how this notion was visualized in First World War propaganda is portrayed in PRC poster no. 112, which shows the chain of supply from a workshop in Britain to the fighting front. Situated on a hillside, four civilians and two servicemen are ‘doing their bit’ to contribute to the war effort. In the lower left corner, an industrial worker is poised, ready to strike an anvil with the sledgehammer in his hands. In the centre, a female munitions worker carries out her work (figure 1). Behind them a nurse stands with linen draped over her arm, while in the background a boy scout hands a package to an infantryman who is standing in front of an artillery gun manned by a Royal Navy sailor. Off to the side a well-dressed young man looks on, smoking a cigarette with his hands placed in his pockets, serving as a contrast to the hard working symbolic representations of Britain’s war effort. The message is clear. In addition to Germany, Britain has an enemy within. The idea for this poster was conceived by Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts movement, and it is reminiscent of a pre-war warning in his *Scouting for Boys: Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, in which he implores: ‘Your forefathers worked hard, fought hard, and died hard to make your country for you. Don’t let them look down from heaven and see you loafing about with your hands in your pockets’.¹⁷⁰ While the poster’s purpose is to persuade citizens to take an active

170 R. Baden Powell, *Scouting For Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1908]), p. 352.

role in the war effort, in doing so, it serves to demonstrate how the concept of citizenship was appropriated between 1914-1918 to serve as a moral reminder of patriotic duty. Such campaigns conform to a similar narrative of citizenship whereby participation in specific acts, such as contributing to war work, or donating to war charity is the hallmark of good citizenship. This parallel narrative between the different agents of war publicity production exemplifies Foucault's notion of power exercised through the social body. Foucault argues that '...the state, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of power relations'.¹⁷¹ Power, according to Foucault, circulates, it is employed and exercised through a net like organisation.¹⁷² Through an examination of a varied range of war publicity material, we can see how governing bodies regulated and managed individuals in Britain using rationalities, practices, narratives and discourses specific to patriotic citizenship, and we can also reflect on what type of citizen-identities were constructed and represented in the process. We can evaluate how the representation of patriotic citizenship in war publicity both constrains and produces certain citizen-identities, and at the same time how through 'policing' non-participatory behaviours, it constructs some British citizens as authentic, and others as non-citizen subjects. In this chapter, I want to explore the types of citizenship that were represented in pictorial publicity, whether or not new sections of society were empowered through public visibility and how citizenship became fused with patriotism, addressing new sections of society as citizens of Britain, and denigrating those that did not cooperate with the war effort. For although there have been numerous studies on citizenship and patriotism, surprisingly few deal with the presence of such ideas during the First World War.¹⁷³

171 M. Foucault, 'Truth and Power' in D. Tallack (ed.), *Critical Theory: A Reader* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 71.

172 M. Foucault, 'Lecture: 7 January 1976' in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and C. B. Ortner (eds.), *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 214.

173 Notable exceptions are N. Gullace, *The Blood of our Sons: Men, Women, and the Regeneration of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and D. Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012).

LITERATURE SURVEY

Any study which seeks to analyse representations of patriotism and citizenship is faced with a difficult task. Indisputably patriotism in Britain is linked with citizenship and democracy, yet notions of patriotism and citizenship have taken different forms over time, and between different nations. The literature on these subjects includes studies on nationhood and the state, on particular nations and periods, and on particular communities within those nations. Since Hugh Cunningham's 1981 study into the language of patriotism, in which he explores the changing nature of patriotism between the publishing of *The Rights of Man* in 1791, and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, historical scrutiny into such ideas has become increasingly sophisticated, yet a consensus on the meanings of patriotism and citizenship has not been reached.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the years between the closing of the nineteenth century and the ending of the First World War are particularly problematic for the study of patriotism and citizenship in Britain due to the erosion of British industrial and imperial supremacy and the British public's jingoistic response to events during the Boer War. In response to Kushan Kumar's study into *The Making of English National Identity* in which Kumar concludes that the 'moment' of English nationhood came at the turn of the nineteenth century, Julia Stapleton has argued that in the years preceding the First World War there was widespread ambivalence towards patriotic ideas.¹⁷⁵ While Britain's European counterparts actively encouraged patriotic behavior amongst their citizens, in Britain, it was regarded with suspicion; associated by the early twentieth century with the racist turn of European nationalist movements, and the behavior of jingoistic crowds on Mafeking night.¹⁷⁶ To support Stapleton's view, L T Hobhouse, argued in 1904 that as a result of outbursts of 'jingoism' in response to the South African war, patriotism had become corrupted by imperialism, which had transformed legitimate national pride into displays of chauvinism

174 H. Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914' in *History Workshop*, No. 12 (Autumn, 1981), pp. 8-33.

175 K. Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 200, 202, 233; J. Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus Patriotism in Twentieth Century England' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2005), pp.151-178, p.151.

176 Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus Patriotism in Twentieth Century England', p. 152.

and glorification of Britain.¹⁷⁷ Brock Millman's definition of a 'patriot in wartime Britain' as 'someone willing to employ violence on the homefront to silence dissent and maintain national cohesion in a war that was a fight to the finish' draws comparison with Hobhouse's contemporary view.¹⁷⁸ Peter Mandler has stressed the significance of national character as a distinct analytical category.¹⁷⁹ He dismisses what he terms 'vague' patriotism as a 'feeling of loyalty to a country that does not require a very focused sense of what nation is or represents'.¹⁸⁰ For Stapleton, the terms 'patriotism' and 'citizenship' elicit tension because they are (wrongly) conflated by historians of this subject.¹⁸¹ Taking as her evidence two rival conceptions of the relationship between these terms in the 19th century, the first being the intellectual elite, and the second writers and activists, patriotism, according to Stapleton, should be viewed as distinct from citizenship because concepts of the term promoted in the nineteenth century by the intellectual elite promoted an attachment to the state as the 'supreme focus of collective loyalty, identity and the common good', yet rejected the emotive language associated with patriotism, preferring to promote civic, democratic and liberal values based on reason.¹⁸² Embedded within her analysis is the assumption that the meaning of the term citizenship goes beyond its legal implications.¹⁸³ What is missing in Stapleton's analysis is an acknowledgement that citizenship could be conflated with patriotism without the overt displays of emotional nationalism that she associates with the term. During the First World War, being a good citizen was an act of patriotism in which an attachment to, and support for one's country and fellow countrymen was the hallmark of a good citizen. An example is the women's suffrage movement, which for the duration of war put aside the fight for suffrage to engage in supporting the war.

177 L. T. Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction* (London, 1904), p. 17.

178 While there is a clear issue with fusing patriotism and violence, his argument also fails to acknowledge wide spread support for the war even after conscription was introduced, perhaps best exemplified by the support of Labour Unions. B. Millman, *Managing Domestic Dissent in Britain, 1914-1918* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 99.

179 P. Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

180 Ibid, p. 7.

181 Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus Patriotism in Twentieth Century England', p. 177.

182 Ibid, p. 152.

183 Ibid, p. 158.

By 1914, conceptions of citizenship had moved beyond discussions amongst an intellectual elite and into a wider arena. Moreover, while in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century citizenship had been perceived as a legal concept, outlining a series of rights based on status such as voting and paying taxes, by the latter end of the century, narratives of citizenship, having been debated amongst the intellectual elite, were being considered in a wider forum.¹⁸⁴ As Beaven has argued in his study into working class men and citizenship: social and political activists, urban elites, and, perhaps most importantly, the national and local press, had become drawn to the concept of citizenship, disseminating the message in a popular form.¹⁸⁵ It is this idea, that the citizenship concept is most useful when considered beyond what Sonia Rygiel terms the ‘macro-level’ that concerns this chapter.¹⁸⁶

PARTICIPATION AND THE LOCAL CONTEXT

Participation in wartime activities was a key signifier of the ‘good’ citizen in British war publicity and was framed through rhetorics of sacrifice and shared experience. If servicemen and women were potentially making the ultimate sacrifice of risking death to support British war aims, civilians should not be averse to making their own smaller sacrifices in the form of monetary donations to charities, participation in voluntary food rationing, or purchasing war bonds and savings. Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power can be useful for understanding how war publicity facilitated the presence of patriotic citizenship by encouraging a type of government by citizenship through constraining or encouraging certain behaviours. In *Are You in This?* (Figure 1), the vocabulary of patriotism and citizenship is brought together through the notion of participation; those figures portrayed to be aiding the war effort are contrasted against the non-participant as representations of good and bad citizenship. Yet what is notable about the use of citizenship as a motivating force in pictorial publicity is

184 B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and the Working class in Britain, 1840-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 8.

185 Ibid.

186 Rygiel, informed by Foucault, argues that citizenship is usually discussed at the macro-level, i.e. the level of the State. However, she suggests that if the concept is only discussed at this level our understanding of the nature and workings of power by reducing it to the level of the law. S. Rygiel, *Globalising Citizenship* (Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), p. 32.

that it was not confined to materials produced by the state. Charitable activity flourished on the outbreak of hostilities. Initially directed towards the Belgian Refugee Fund, the National Relief Fund and the Red Cross, it burgeoned to encompass numerous, smaller charities and charitable events aimed at supporting the war.¹⁸⁷ Traditionally characterised as an amateurish, middle-class phenomenon, and represented in the form of ladies knitting socks for soldiers at the front, Peter Grant has recently demonstrated how the British voluntary sector underwent major changes between 1914-1918, its scale enabling it to make important contributions to the war effort.¹⁸⁸ During the national crisis, participation in acts of charitable citizenship fed into a sense of common purpose. Pictorial publicity produced for the numerous charities and charitable events beyond those within specific campaigns had in common a clear appeal to a sense of collective citizenship represented through



Fig. 1: R. Baden Powell (1915), 'Are YOU in this?', IWM PST 2712.



Fig. 2: Anon (1918), 'Our Day', IWM PST 10849.

187 P. R. Grant, 'Mobilising charity: non-uniformed voluntary action during the First World War' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University London, 2012), p. 51.

188 Grant, 'Mobilising charity'.

specific figures in society. Figure 2 shows a poster produced for ‘Our Day’ by the British Red Cross. It depicts the head and shoulders of a nurse, flanked to each side by a British soldier and sailor. The figures represented are the citizen-workers and citizen-soldiers that are constructed to be deserving of charitable aid. As in Baden-Powell’s design, each figure of supposed good and deserving citizenship is represented as a key worker in Britain’s war effort. When subject to a Foucauldian reading, such notions invite us to consider how citizenship is connected to a politics aimed at producing ‘docile bodies’ of citizens - that is, bodies that exhibit the characteristics that are considered to be desirable for a population.¹⁸⁹ Baden-Powell’s design showcases the citizens that met the ‘kind of body the current society’ needed.¹⁹⁰ ‘Our Day’ was an annual event run by the Red Cross, and a forerunner to appeals such as Comic Relief and Children in Need.¹⁹¹ Held in the third week of October on the anniversary of the Red Cross and the Order of St John joining forces in 1914, everyone was expected to join in and do something for charity.¹⁹² Participation in ‘Our Day’ festivities and other such community based events offered civilians the opportunity to pursue approved leisure in the public sphere which had taken on a new significance since it was perceived to be an indicator of good citizenship during the war.¹⁹³

PARTICIPATION AND THE LOCAL CONTEXT: THE LOGISTICS OF ORGANISING CAMPAIGNS

Local events to encourage economy in food and money were not dissimilar in their expectation of community participation and support. Duncan Tanner has argued that the context of social experience in Edwardian Britain was ‘local, not national’, and he is not alone in his conclusion.¹⁹⁴ Recent historical studies have concluded that the British war

189 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth Of the Prison* Tr. by A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

190 M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77* (London: Vintage, 1980), p. 58.

191 Grant, ‘Mobilising Charity’, p. 192.

192 P. Grant, ‘Mobilising Charity’, p. 192.

193 B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working Class Men in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 9.

194 D. Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 420.

experience was in many ways based on local experience.¹⁹⁵ Studies into the activities of the PRC and local volunteerism have demonstrated that localities were often adverse to recruitment strategies, showing a desire to negotiate the nature of their own participation in the war.¹⁹⁶ Inspired by the success of the PRC's Lord Derby scheme, Hedley Le Bas, publicity officer for the NCWS, suggested that established local agencies including The Church of England, The Salvation Army, The Co-operative Societies, and The Friendly Societies might shoulder the task of distributing domestic propaganda at a local level.¹⁹⁷ The NCWS was set up in February 1916 with three key aims: the organisation of war savings propaganda, the organisation of existing and new machinery for saving, and the formulation of schemes for collecting money. The committee defined the 'propaganda' aim as 'the appeal to reduce expenditure... to restrict the consumption of things and the employment of services to private ends.'¹⁹⁸ Moreover, such was its importance that the publicity section was deemed as needing its own sub-committee, and as such the notable advertising agent Hedley Le Bas was placed at the helm.¹⁹⁹

The commitment of local authorities was integral to the success of the war savings campaign and considerations as to how the work would be approached to best appeal to the public were necessary.²⁰⁰ One of the first acts of the NCWS was to establish the amount of support

195 See P. Harling, 'The Centrality of Locality', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 9.2 (2004) pp. 228-229; Monger, pp. 62-85; P. Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914', *Past and Present*, 186 (2005); D. Todman, 'The First World in British Popular Culture' in H. Jones, J. O'Brian and C. Schmidt-Supprian (eds.) *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden, 2008) p. 423.

196 B. White, 'Volunteerism and Early Recruitment Efforts in Devonshire, August 1914-December 1915' in *The Historica Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (September 2009), pp. 641-666.

197 The National Archives, Kew (TNA), National Savings Committee Minute Book (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

198 Ibid.

199 By the time the sub-committee has its first meeting on 23rd February 1916, it has been renamed the 'publicity' sub-section. Though the minute books do not indicate a reason for doing so.

200 The committee were of the opinion that 'some men entertain a prejudice against local organisations', and that publicity distributed through trusted, local societies might be better received. It was therefore decided in February 1916, that the central committee would use existing County Council structures to advocate local agents to act on their behalf. The question of the effectiveness of war publicity is difficult to address, given that market research was non-existent during the period of the First World War. However, the effectiveness of war publicity campaigns ultimately relied on the material reaching a large audience beyond the population of the capital. TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Book (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

they could expect to receive in the localities. Letters were sent out to mayors and chairmen of urban district councils with populations exceeding 30,000 requesting that they appoint men and donate their time to setting up local War Savings Associations.²⁰¹ The table in figure 3 demonstrates the number and result of the responses returned to the committee.²⁰²

Formation of local committees	Returns
Working	35
Making preparations and favourably disposed	82
Evasive	39
Against	26
No reply	91
Total	264

Figure 3, Table demonstrating returns with reference to the formation of local committees (May 1916) TNA, NSC 1/1.

Of 264 authorities canvassed, under half were favourably disposed towards supporting the initiative. A third had not seen fit to reply to the request for aid, and most interestingly, a little over twenty percent of local authority figures responded negatively. The minute books do not state what reasons were given by those that refused to comply with the request, although the fact that they were expected to finance war savings activities may have been a factor.²⁰³ Through canvassing local officials in this way, the NCWS were able to discover which localities were particularly engaged with the task of war savings and direct the central committee's efforts accordingly.²⁰⁴ Involvement from local authorities had several benefits for the national committee: logistically, the machinery required to produce and distribute publicity material across Britain would be too vast for a central committee, and the cost too

201 In March 1916, it was suggested by Le Bas that the committee should also be approaching towns with a population of less than 30,000. The committee agreed that they would proceed to also approach towns with a population of over 20,000. TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Books (30 March 1916), NSC 1/1.

202 By November 1917, it was decided that all constituencies would require a war aims committee, rather than the 247 originally targeted.

203 Although occasionally the central committee seem willing to aid costs for the production of publicity, localities were expected to bear the brunt of costs. for example a request from the Newcastle association on August 23rd 1916 for £100 to produce war publicity leaflets is only partially approved with the committee agreeing to send £5. NSC 1/1.

204 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Books (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

high. Local committees were expected to fund their own Associations, and while posters, and some leaflets were printed and distributed by the NCWS through the government's own Stationery Office, other forms of domestic propaganda such as conferences, lectures and circulars were funded locally. Local committees could also offer a more responsive campaign, responding to particular regional concerns that might not have been made aware to central authorities. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the endorsement of trusted local officials, and the distribution of war savings publicity through local associations gave the campaigns a sense of self-mobilisation rather than appearing as yet another set of state driven commands. Through speeches and meetings, appeals could be directed according to differences in local opinion. On a practical level, Le Bas acknowledged in the first NCWS meeting that it would be impossible for the central organising committee to act directly in all localities.²⁰⁵ Local agents working on behalf of the national committee were familiar with the best places to hold meetings, and through local connections, were able to set up meetings in prominent buildings known within the community. They would also be aware of the most visible places to post bills. It was upon the suggestion of the Bradford Committee in August 1916 that the NCWS began to draft posters and leaflets for localities with a vacant space for local associations to add on their name and any other necessary information in September 1916.²⁰⁶ Although posters produced nationally and distributed for printing over in each locality such as those for 'Guns Week' were by no means locally targeted, displaying as they did, a generic image accompanied by the name of the place in which the poster was displayed, they held a local appeal (figures 4 and 5).

Other strategies included encouraging local rivalries between towns of equal population size.²⁰⁷ Rivalries between towns of equal population size had emerged in the nineteenth century as competition for trade increased as a result of the industrial revolution²⁰⁸

205 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Book (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

206 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Book: Publicity Sub-Committee (16 August 1916), NSC 1/3.

207 TNA, Chancellor of The Exchequer's Office: Miscellaneous Papers (1917), T172.

208 S.A. Caunce, 'Northern English industrial towns: rivals or partners?', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), pp 338-358 (p. 341).

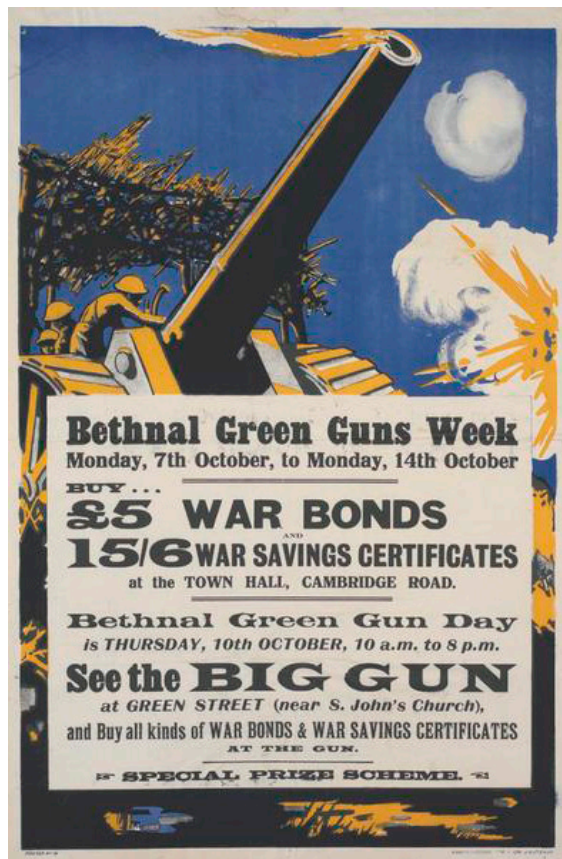


Fig. 4: Anon (1918), 'Bethnal Green Guns Week', IWM PST 10175.



Fig. 5: Anon (1918), 'Untitled', IWM PST 10084.

and had been expressed in new forms such as county cricket, football, and the military reservist system.²⁰⁹ Figure 6 shows the display of posters advertising the Tank Bank Race in Birmingham that ran between December 31st 1917 to January 5th 1918. Advertisements placed in local newspapers published the total purchases of war bonds and savings certificates in each locality, imploring 'Where Does Your Town Stand?'.²¹⁰ Locally produced and funded posters such as the Leicester War Association's *Back Leicester's Men with Leicester's Money. The Great Civilian Push is the WAR LOAN* echoed national rhetoric while appealing to local interests (figure 7). Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism is formed by how people think of belonging to a nation.²¹¹ The appeal to national agendas through the lens of locality played on multiple identities and the sense of belonging to a locality first, and then to a nation. Pierre Purseigle terms this the 'appropriation of national narratives through local

209 E. Wasson, *A History of Modern Britain, 1714 to the Present* (John Wiley & Sons: West Sussex, 2009), p. 230.

210 Anon, 'Where Does Your Town Stand?' in *Western Mail* (16 January 1918), p. 6.

211 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.6.

cultural codes'.²¹² Through appeals which used the already established pre-text of friendly rivalry between English towns, the NCWS played on the regional identities that had more significance for the public in everyday life. A proclamation produced by Leicester's War Savings scheme implored 'Back Leicester's Men with Leicester's Money'. In the same way that patriotic and charitable days were mediated locally to produce a sense of autonomous involvement, by appealing to the public to give money to back local men, as opposed to the government, regional war savings publicity could give the appearance that money saved could have a direct local benefit. With the backing of Hedley Le Bas and later, George Sutton, the NCWS had what *Advertisers Weekly* termed 'the first fully organised advertising campaign conducted on behalf of the government'.²¹³

Initially, the war savings drive was tied in with an overall drive for economy. The definition of 'economy' put forth by Basil Blackett, Treasury Official for the NCWS included 'increased production, the avoidance of waste and unnecessary expenditure'.²¹⁴ The release of men for the army, the production of munitions, increased agricultural production, the organisation



Fig. 6: Anon (1918), Photograph depicting feed the tank week in Birmingham, IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 7: Anon (n.d.), 'Back Leicester's Men Leicester's Money. War Loan', IWM uncatalogued.

212 P. Purseigle, 'Beyond and below the nations. Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War' in J. Macleod and P. Purseigle *Uncovered fields: Perspectives in First World War studies* (Leyden: Brill Academic Publisher, 2004) pp. 95-123, p. 101.

213 Anon, 'Securing the Sinews of War' in *Advertisers Weekly* (November, 1917), p. 302.

214 B. Blackett, 'War Savings in Great Britain', published lecture (New York: Liberty Loan Committee), 25 September 1917, p. 3.

of war labour, the tonnage problem, and the effort to save money through less expenditure', all of these issues according to Blackett could be summed up in the ideal of the nation organised for war, 'working as a community, but organised by its own voluntary effort, not imposed from above'.²¹⁵ Yet early forays into economy publicity were met with resistance, not only from outbreaks of dissent as in the Arsenal Munitions Work, but from within the committee itself.²¹⁶ Drawing a lesson from the recruiting campaigns, the publicity section, headed by Le Bas, began placarding London with posters that encouraged economy in all aspects of daily life, and 'provoked and stimulated the discussion of the economic problems of the war'.²¹⁷ Seemingly as a result of Le Bas's influence, in the early stages at least, the committee held the opinion that the wealthier classes should be setting an example to the rest of society. Le Bas particularly stressed the necessity of encouraging sacrifice amongst society's wealthier citizens. In February 1916, he submitted a memorandum to the NCWS arguing that it would be necessary for the committee to call attention to unnecessary forms of spending amongst the wealthy.²¹⁸ He particularly protested against the use of motor cars, the use of which he refers to as 'selfish or thoughtless extravagance'.²¹⁹ He further argued that it would be pointless to appeal to the poorer classes to save as long as they could see the 'well to do people enjoying an expensive luxury'.²²⁰ This led to the production of a set of posters that Blackett would later refer to as the 'crime posters'.²²¹ 'Crime posters' were typographical posters issued to discourage indulgence in luxuries. Figures 8, 9 And 10 illustrate the examples that Blackett refers to in a speech to American businessmen that

215 Ibid.

216 On April 4th 1916, Caird reported that posters sent to the Arsenal Munitions Works had been torn down due to objection amongst the people of Arsenal. Shortly after, on April 8th 1916, Tyson Wilson received a reply from the Working Men's Club and Institute Union in response to a request to support a War Savings Association refusing to aid the NCWS. Wilson warned the committee that they must be very careful with regard to publicity, for 'if the propaganda work was to have bad results, it would be better to drop it.' (NSC 1/2).

217 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Books (1916), NSC 1/1.

218 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Books (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

219 TNA, National Savings Committee Minute Books (16 February 1916), NSC 1/1.

220 Ibid. Le Bas makes the point that the poorer classes would not be inclined to economise if they could see the wealthier classes continuing to indulge in luxuries, and suggests that first class carriages should be 'done away with'.

221 B. Blackett, 'War Savings in Great Britain', p. 12.

was later reproduced as a propaganda pamphlet titled 'War Savings in Great Britain'.²²² According to Blackett, earlier attempts to promote war savings had been met with resistance when it was felt that war savings campaigns were aimed only at the poor.²²³ With the hope that the wealthier classes could set a good example and with free hoardings in London at their disposal, the committee designed and released such posters as *To Dress Extravagantly In Wartime Is Not Only Unpatriotic It Is Bad Form*, *Bad Form in Dress*, and *Don't Use A Motor Car For Pleasure* (figures 8, 9 And 10). Blackett suggests that while the wealthier classes sympathised with the cause of wartime economy, they did not agree with the use of such 'undignified methods'.²²⁴ 'Undignified methods' presumably refers to the fact that failure to comply with the request of such posters was clearly visible. *Bad Form In Dress* for example, lists specific 'luxury' items that women should not purchase. Such items include 'luxurious forms of hats, boots, shoes, stockings, gloves and veils' (see figure 9). Similarly, the use of motor cars for leisure would have been a highly visible and seemingly 'unpatriotic' act. The response to this poster Blackett argued, was 'to make the timid motorist fear attacks on the high road from the indignant and patriotic proletariat'.²²⁵ A situation had been established whereby members of the public could display their patriotism through compliance with direct orders issued through war publicity. To be viewed to be flagrantly defying such orders would seem to demonstrate to fellow citizens that one is not lending full support to the war. As figure 8 attests, extravagance in dress is not only bad form, it is *unpatriotic*. Here, patriotism is distinguishable and visible. Within the NCWS, Le Bas's suggestion in March 1916 to impose 'meatless' and 'drinkless' days met with a similarly negative response. Robert Kindersley, chairman of the NCWS, along with other members of the committee threatened to tender his resignation from the committee if the campaign went ahead arguing that it would bring the committee 'into ridicule'.²²⁶ Two special meetings concerned with 'meatless' and 'drinkless' days followed, during which the pressure on Le Bas to drop his idea continued.

222 Ibid.

223 Ibid, p. 12.

224 Ibid, p. 11.

225 Ibid, p. 11.

226 TNA, 'National Savings Committee Minute Books' (16 March 1916), NSC 1/1.

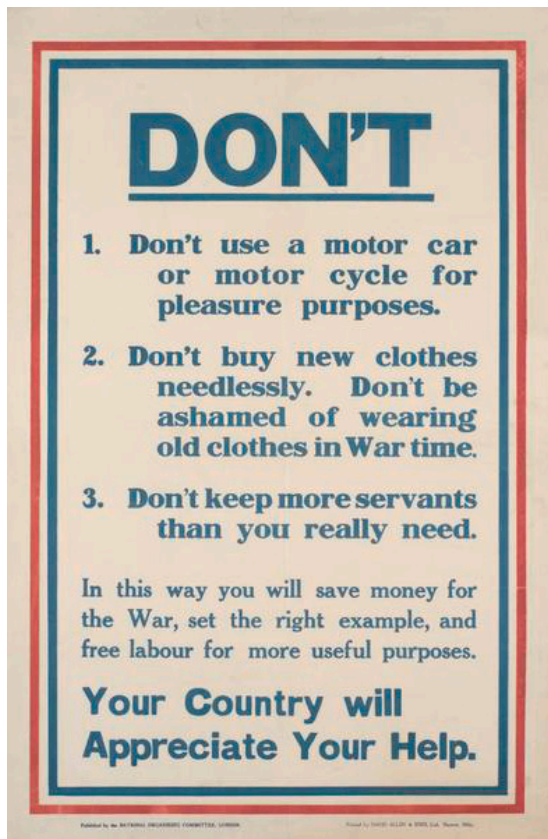


Fig. 8: Anon (1916), 'Don't Use a Motor Car', IWM PST 10117.

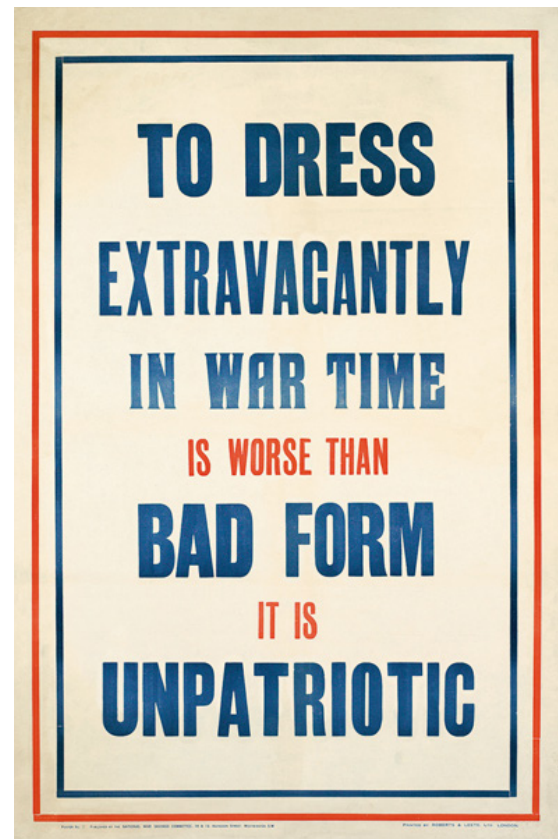


Fig. 9: Anon (1916), 'To Dress Extravagantly In War Time', IWM PST 10112.

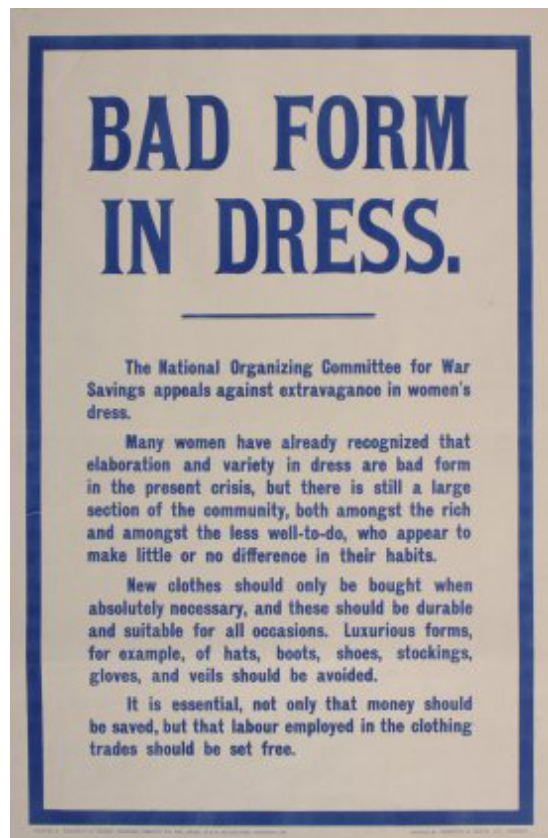


Fig. 10: Anon (1916), 'Bad Form in Dress', IWM PST 10120.

William Tyson Wilson, MP for Wroughton, and a member of the NCWS committee claimed that he could not support the scheme for ‘reasons connected with the Labour Party’.²²⁷ Le Bas agreed that he would not issue any publicity connected with the promotion as he did not wish to be responsible for the resignation of members of the committee, but went on to argue that in future, his own position as Chairman of the publicity sub-section would be ‘quite impossible unless he were given latitude to perform the work for which he had been appointed.’²²⁸ What is interesting is that these examples have more in common with the public notice than the poster, demanding that their audience comply, rather than convincing them to do so. Through his concept of discourse, Foucault demonstrates how visual markers can be a signal of good, or correct behaviour. The discursive materially marks the body. Therefore, when subject to a Foucauldian reading, ‘crime posters’ cultivate a specific kind of conformative patriotism in which support for the war is conferred through a visual demonstration of economy. Acts such as driving a motor car for leisure, or wearing a veil, mark the subject as ‘unpatriotic’, as unsupportive of Britain’s war, and arguably, as undermining those that have made the supposedly much larger sacrifice of joining the army.

It was not until November 1917 when George Sutton was appointed to represent the publicity work of the war savings campaign that it increased in popularity. With the measures Le Bas had put in place, new campaigns started in Sept 1917 beginning with savings certificates, and with the sale of bonds following a few weeks later. Publicity took on a changing tone, more in tune with the earlier government led recruiting campaign utilising emotional content and illustrations to appeal to the audience. *Advertisers Weekly* referenced *Save for the Little One’s Future* shown in figure 11 as an example of the NCWS’s well-designed material after September 1917. The advertisement, which features a block of text bordered to the top and bottom with illustrations, appeals to the viewer to use war savings to prepare for the future of their family. The accompanying image shows a


227 Ibid (21 March 1916).

228 Ibid.

middle-class man and woman in a state of some concern as a child lies sleeping in bed. Pensive and thoughtful, the middle-aged gentleman at the forefront of the image appears to have been briefly interrupted by his thoughts as he reads a newspaper. Although, the fact that this is an advertisement for war savings certificates suggests that the intended viewer is a blue or white collar worker, the man's tailored three piece suit lends an aspirational quality to the image. As part of the same campaign, another advertisement pictures the 'Battle of Life' (see figure 12). In this image the man appears younger. He does not have a moustache, and although he wears a shirt and trousers he is without waistcoat, tie and jacket. His sleeves are rolled up to show his muscular forearms and with his young child on his shoulder, he reaches behind for his wife. This man is the protector. He cares about the future of his family, and is willing to steer them on the right path to a brighter future. The stepping stones over which the family must carefully tread to navigate the battle of life are representative of war savings certificates. These images reveal some ambiguity about social class. Those at whom these advertisements are aimed are not well off, and the copy suggests an awareness of this. Figure 12 reads '...was there ever a time in your own life when two or three hundred pounds would have made all the difference?' Yet, particularly in figure 11 the man appears to be upper middle class. Established and aspirant, with the emphasis firmly on the future, these advertisements seem to imply that through saving with the war scheme, one's children can progress further up the social scale. In a further propaganda speech, this time to the Academy of Political Science in New York in 1917, Blackett points to the failure of early war savings campaigns. He attests that before 1916, efforts to encourage the public to lend money to the government through savings schemes had largely failed because they didn't explain the fundamental reasons for why saving was important.²²⁹ Moreover, such efforts concentrated on selling bonds, which were unsuitable for the small investor.²³⁰ When the new campaign began in 1916, with publicity under the direction of Le Bas, and with many poorer families bringing in a higher pre-war wage because more members of

229 B. Blackett, 'England's Effort to Pay for the War out of Savings' in *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (February 1918), pp. 59-70, p. 64.

230 Ibid.



SAVE for the Little One's Future


EVERY man and woman looking back upon the past years realises that whatever share of the good things of life he or she now possesses was won only by a constant struggle against obstacles and difficulties. If they are parents there comes the inevitable after-thought, "And the children—must they fight the same hard, sometimes heart-breaking, battle?" You, the middle aged mothers and fathers of growing boys and girls, have had your day; you have wandered far along life's highway—but your children have but started out on that rough road—the road that you can make easy for them by saving a little week by week and investing it in War Savings Certificates. Prepare to give your children a start. Remember your early struggles and resolve that their life shall be made less difficult.

Each War Savings Certificate costs 15/6, and will be worth £1 in five years' time. You can buy War Savings Certificates at any Money Order Post Office, or from any Official Agent, or from any War Savings Association. You can buy them by 6d. instalments. Thirty-one 6d. War Savings Stamps will entitle you to a Certificate. Your money is absolutely safe—being guaranteed by the State, and if you wish to, you can get your money back at any time with any interest due. There is no Income Tax on money invested in War Savings Certificates.

YOU ARE INVITED
to come inside and ask
at the Counter for a
15/6 War Savings Certificate
or a
6d. War Savings Stamp



Fig. 11: Anon (n.d.), 'Save for the Little One's Future', IWM uncatalogued.



SAVE NOW

and make the pathway of life easier for the feet of your little ones. Provide for their future. Save now and you will be able to give them the best possible education and start them better equipped in the battle of life.

Was there ever a time in your own life when two or three hundred pounds would have made all the difference to your future prospects? See to it that your children do not lack such assistance.

Spend as little as you can—save as much as you can. Invest in War Savings Certificates where your money is absolutely safe and earns a high rate of interest.

Help your Children in the Future
BUY
War Savings CERTIFICATES
TO-DAY

YOU ARE INVITED
to come inside and ask at the Counter for a
15/6 War Savings Certificate.

Fig. 12: Anon (n.d.), 'Save Now', IWM uncatalogued.

the family were going to work, it was of primary importance to encourage people to save, and to encourage them to save through a war savings scheme came second. As Blackett attests 'thought had to be translated from money, into terms of human activities'.²³¹ By presenting war bonds as an investment in family, the committee were able to forge links between the nation and the family, whereby being a good citizen, and a good parent were inextricably linked. What is perhaps unusual here is that although female obligation to family had long been presented as an obligation to the nation. Figures 11 and 12 appear to target male members of the household.²³² During a period when women are contributing to household budgets more than ever before such advertisements echo tradition and longevity.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 70.

²³² S. Rose, *Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945* (Oxford: Open University Press, 2004), p. 137.

They promote the conceived ‘natural’ order of gendered hierarchy. It was this type of emotional content that appealed to *Advertiser’s Weekly* as an example of good copy and they state that they are ‘best pleased to note the appearance of copy appealing rather to intimate human instincts and warm human emotions rather than a cold common sense’ like that of the earlier ‘crime posters’.²³³ The article goes on to suggest that this type of advertising had led to ‘most satisfactory returns’ from the public.²³⁴ Results had exceeded expectation and were improving as ‘the cumulative weight of the advertising’ made ‘itself felt’.²³⁵ The journal was convinced that the popularity of the war savings scheme was indebted to the advertising campaigns, arguing ‘There are those who will say that the advertising of the schemes has had very little to do with this... arguing with such people is a waste of time... more open minded folk will note that it was not until the advertising campaign launched that the money of the masses began to flow into the National Exchequer.’²³⁶

In addition to producing advertising copy, the NWAC was also responsible for designing publicity stunts to stimulate support. War Bonds Week encouraged commercial advertisers to donate the purchase of advertising space to the promotion of the savings scheme. The event was mutually beneficial for both parties, allowing commercial advertisers to align themselves with the war effort, and thereby tap into the authority that support for the war could confer. Companies including Lloyds Bank, Rose’s Lime Juice and Field’s Ink all dedicated space to the NCWS, continuing to promote their own brand within the copy, whilst encouraging customers to purchase war bonds.²³⁷ In a similar vein, a war savings scheme promoted by British Dominion insurance received praise from *The Advertising World* for their campaign, and is worth some attention as an example of how commercial companies responded to government schemes.²³⁸ Responding three weeks before the day fixed as the latest on which

233 Anon, ‘Securing the Sinews of War’ in *Advertisers Weekly* (November 1917), p. 302.

234 Ibid.

235 Ibid.

236 Ibid.

237 This was a technique already established in the United States. See R. Marchand, *Advertising and the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (California: University of California Press, 1986) and J. Aulich, ‘Graphic Arts and Advertising as War Propaganda’ in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by U. Daniel, P. Gatrell, O. Janz, H. Jones, J. Keene, A. Kramer, and B. Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08.

238 Anon, ‘Three Weeks Hard Labour’ in *The Advertisers World* (March 1917), pp. 224-236, p. 238.

applications for war bonds could be received, the company began producing daily press advertisements. With less than twenty-four hours to draft, edit, approve and place each new piece of copy, the process of developing war scheme advertisements for British Dominion was one of trial and error. *The Advertising World* notes that the company appear to learn as they go along, and appeals appear to grow steadily more personal and emotional as the campaign progressed.²³⁹ The earliest advertisements were text based. A main heading dominated the top of the copy, followed by an explanation of the savings scheme. The two earliest advertisements emulated the ‘question’ approach, asking ‘Do you desire to pay for your son’s career, your daughter’s education, your family welfare, besides helping to subscribe the money so necessary to winning the war?’ Illustrations were included in some of the later advertisements. One in particular depicts a male munitions maker striking ‘while the iron’s hot’ (see figure 13). This particular example appears to be aimed at the smaller investor, the illustration focuses on hard work, while the text, aimed at the male householder, reassures the viewer that should they die before the period of paying the Bonds is complete, British Dominions will immediately pay the full amount to his family. Moreover, should he die in the line of duty, the company will pay double the worth of the Bonds to his successors. Meanwhile, advertisements aimed at the wealthier viewer, able to invest in Bonds of £500, £1000 or £10,000 appealed to the ‘emotion that is one of the strongest in the hearts of men of the more well to do classes - the public school boy’s abiding affection for the place of his early education.’²⁴⁰ With presumably little time to produce a more accomplished or subtle illustration, such advertisements as those aiming to reach the wealthier classes simply pictured Eton public school. Accompanied by text which implores men to equip’ their sons with the ‘finest possible education’ through the war loan. Despite the advertisers’ awareness of social and class difference, what is interesting, is that ultimately, British Dominions advertisements aimed at each class level appeal to the same emotion: the desire to save for the future of one’s family. Of course, linking family and nation is a thread that weaves its way throughout the narrative of British war publicity, particularly in relation

239 Ibid, p. 224.

240 Ibid, p. 224.

No. 22 16 x 6 1/2



Strike while the iron's hot—strike quickly

Strike a blow for England

The men in the workshops—the men on the battleships—the men in the trenches—are hitting hard. Are you? Have you taken stock of your capacity to lend? Do you know that you can buy Tank Bonds by instalments, spread over 5, 7 or 10 years.

This is the way to do it

We are prepared to take up Tank Bonds for anyone of you and to allow you to pay for them in instalments spread over 5, 7 or 10 years.

- with a guarantee** that at the end of the agreed period the Bonds will be handed to you intact.
- with a further guarantee** that should you die at any time within the period, the Bonds for the full amount, with interest, will be handed to your family or successors.
- and a still further guarantee** that should you suffer death through aircraft attack, or disease, we will pay double the amount of the Bonds contracted for to your successors, without any further liability.
- And still more—** should you suffer permanent disablement from aircraft, you will have no further liability for instalments, and the full amount of the Bonds will be handed to you at the end of the agreed period.

EAGLE STAR & BRITISH DOMINIONS INSURANCE COMPANY LTD

Head Office: British Dominions House, London, E.C. 3.

ASSETS EXCEED **£12,000,000**

Fig. 13: Anon (1917), Advertisement for British Dominions Insurance, IWM uncatalogued.

to the invasion of Belgium as discussed in the following chapter. The family is the basic unit of society and its functioning health was thought to be indicative of the wider health of the nation. By appealing to patriotism through self-interest, as opposed to abstract and allegorical national images, advertisers were able to personalise the national crisis. Here, British Dominions focuses in on the father figure. Though the mother might have taken care of the household budget, it was ultimately considered to be the father's responsibility to see that his family is taken care of in the future. His duties as head of the household become infused with national patriotism. If he does not support his country through war bonds, he cannot support the future of his family. Such appeals seemed to prove popular. In response to their campaign, British Dominions claimed to have received 100,000 enquiries from

potential investors.²⁴¹ Indeed, such was the response, that *Advertisers Weekly* argued that ‘the three weeks’ campaign of the Eagle and British Dominions Insurance Companies has given a magnificent demonstration of the power of advertising to set in motion a widespread public movement in the shortest possible time and with the greatest possible effect.’²⁴²

THE FOOD ECONOMY CAMPAIGNS: HEALTH, HYGIENE AND CITIZENSHIP

In the pre-war years, theories of good citizenship were linked with public health through questions of imperial strength and national efficiency.²⁴³ Debates over the public health of the nation had long been the subject of speculation, but particularly after the Boer War, when the physical deterioration of the male population became the subject of widespread concern.²⁴⁴ What caused such concern was the fact that between 40 and 60 percent of male recruits had been found unfit for service due to their physical fitness.²⁴⁵ In the post-Boer War atmosphere of a country that had lost confidence, concerns about social abilities and disabilities were more heightened than ever before. Arnold White, a noted journalist wrote several articles on imperial citizenship that he eventually developed into a book in 1901. White linked concerns over moral and physical degeneracy with concerns about national efficiency. Echoing doubts about the future of Britain’s empire, White implored that the nation’s dependence on the physical fitness of its nation for ‘bread, defence, wages and empire’ had increased.²⁴⁶ The ‘vigour’ of the Transvaal in the Boer War, he argued, was in part thanks to the fact that they mainly lived in the open air, whereas soldiers of the

241 Anon, ‘Securing the Sinews of War’ in *Advertisers Weekly* (November 1917), p. 232.

242 Ibid, p. 233.

243 A number of historians have examined the prevalence of notions about imperial health and national efficiency at the end of the 19th century, and during the early 20th century including A. Davin, ‘Imperialism and motherhood’ in *History Workshop* (1978), pp.9-65; D. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), particularly 115-146; G. R. Searle (ed), *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914* (Leyden: Noordhoff International Publishing, 1976); P. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); B. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1960).

244 J. Winter, ‘Military Fitness and Civilian Health in Britain during the First World War’ in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (April, 1980), pp. 211-244, p. 211.

245 Ibid.

246 A. White, *Efficiency and Empire* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901), p. 95.

British army lived mostly in tenement houses.²⁴⁷ While ‘the harvests of recent years’ had been ‘reaped...by bronzed veterans...country born labourers in the prime of life’ were now ‘white faced workmen living in courts and alleys.’ For White, such physical unfitness was having a detrimental effect on the stamina of Britain’s men.²⁴⁸ Their efficiency as defenders, thus being effected. What is interesting, is that White’s outpouring with regards to physical fitness and national efficiency is littered with remarks steeped in concerns with the morality of the nation. He laments the lack of parliamentary concern about preventative ill health, illnesses that according to White, were caused by ‘parental neglect’ and ‘premature and reckless marriage leading to the multiplication of gained brains and rickety frames’.²⁴⁹ For White, the two are not to be understood as irrespective of one another. He does not explain the connection, because explanation is not necessary, so widespread were ideas that linked the physical fitness and morality of the nation. As Daniel Gorman states in his study on imperial citizenship ‘morality was the currency’ in which efficiency was measured.²⁵⁰ It was therefore crucial that the public displayed efficiency not just through work, but through its physical ideals. Strength, beauty, good health, all of these attributes were viewed to be physical manifestations of the deeper virtues of discipline, temperance, a healthy diet and a good temper; the proper marks of good morality.

Given such pre-war ideas about the health and morality of the nation, and its effect on defence capabilities, it is therefore not surprising to see that techniques employed by food publicity campaigns served to influence ideas about what constituted a healthy diet. A poster issued by the NCWS with the authority of the Ministry of Food, compared nutritional information of common foodstuffs showing the amount of energy required by men daily, and how this translated into measurements of food (figure 14). It separates the content of particular foods into percentage of ‘water’, ‘nourishment’ and ‘energy’, and includes a section which shows

247 Ibid, p. 96.

248 Ibid, p. 95.

249 Ibid, p. 92.

250 D. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 120.

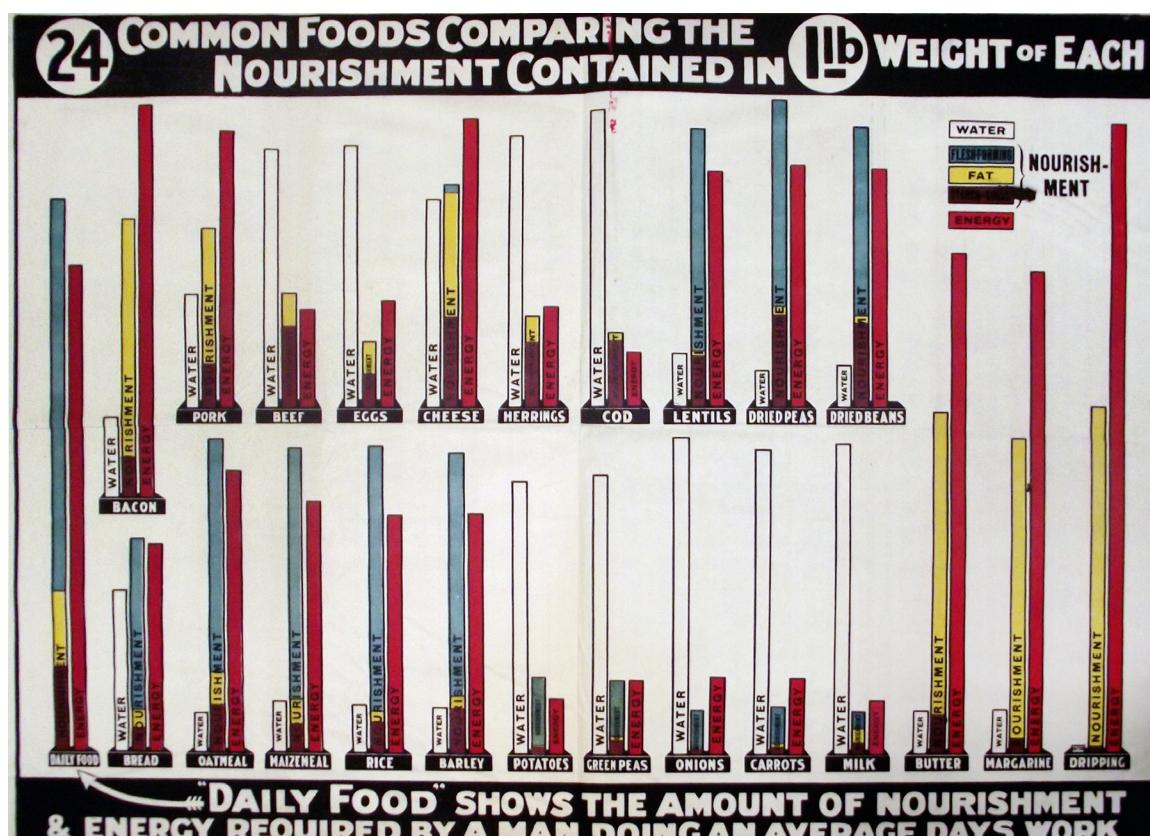


Fig. 14: Anon, (n.d.), poster demonstrating the nourishment of common foods, IWM uncatalogued.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FOOD CAMPAIGN.

We are told that we must reduce our average consumption of Bread by **1 lb. per person per week.**

How much does this really mean?

LOOK AT THIS PHOTOGRAPH.

These three pieces of bread TOGETHER weigh 2½ ounces.

2½ ozs. per day equals very nearly 1lb. per week.

Save one of these three pieces at each of your three meals every day and you will have saved your 'pound of bread.'

Is the sacrifice too much!!

7567 2-5-17 10000 GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHURCHILL LTD.

Fig. 15: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Gloucestershire food campaign, IWM uncatalogued.

There is energy in Quaker Oats

Never before was the need for energy, steady nerves, clear brain and fitness so great as now.

Quaker Oats nourishes the brain, nerves and muscles—it is the surest source of spirit, vitality and strength.

We are all of us living machines, and the "steam" that gives us power to do our duty comes only from our food, and that is the reason for serving Quaker Oats daily.

Every member of your family will enjoy the delicious flavour of Quaker Oats, because it is made only from the largest and richest grains and prepared by our special process.

Quaker Oats

QUAKER OATS, LTD., FINSBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C. 2.

Fig. 16: Anon (n.d.), 'advertisement for Quaker Oats, IWM uncatalogued.

how much energy and nutrition is required daily by working men. Potatoes for example, contribute a relatively small amount of daily energy and nourishment, constituting mainly water, whereas oatmeal makes a much larger contribution. A similar poster issued by the Gloucestershire food campaign equates the size of bread to boxes of 'England's Glory' matches to demonstrate the amount that each citizen should be saving each week (figure 15). With a comparable approach, Quaker's Oats focus on the nourishment of the product (see figure 16). Quaker Oats 'nourishes the brain, nerves and muscles.' It is cheap, filling, and it frees up time for the necessary war work that the illustration serves to demonstrate. In line with rising domestic wages, the manufacturers of commodities recognised a new market for 'instant' time saving pre-packaged processed foods such as Oats and Cocoa. These saved time in the kitchen, allowing female workers more time to recuperate and to work efficiently.

To coincide with such posters and advertisements, official exhibitions and lectures made use of scientific knowledge to draw attention to the role of eating and drinking in maintaining a healthy body. A 'Food Saving Exhibition' held at the Ministry of Hygiene showcased practical food preparation demonstrations alongside lectures by medical authorities on digestion and health. Such thinking was partly the influence of the Royal Society's Food Committee, whose research into the body's energy requirements fed into claims made by publicity material about how much food was needed to maintain good health and the strength to pursue war work. By calling attention to connections with scientific institutions and maintaining a scientific discourse, food publicity was lent an air of authority with which to pursue its objective of encouraging the public to eat less. Espousing notions of 'health' and 'functionalism', crucial attributes to a society able to win a war, it provided British citizens with a kind of evidence to back up pictorial poster campaigns issued by The Ministry of Food.

While food is the key to physical health, according to the Ministry of Food's leaflets and lectures, why not the key to moral health too? James Beadle's 1917 poster for the Ministry

of Food depicts a British sailor, holding a small pack over his left shoulder and an oilskin jacket in his right arm (figure 17). He stands on the edge of a pavement, an old loaf of bread lying in the gutter at his feet. The text states 'We risk our lives to bring you food. It's up to you not to waste it.' The sailor is gazing down at the loaf of bread, a look of dejection on his face. The poster provides a moral message, directly correlating his sacrifice

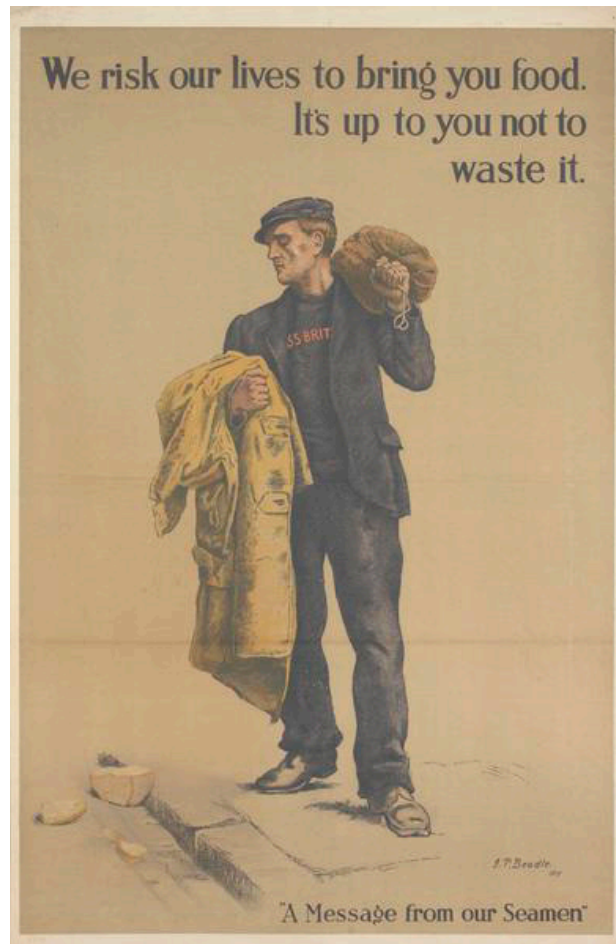


Fig. 17: J. P. B. Barnes (1917), 'We Risk Our Lives', IWM PST 6546.

with the viewer's. By placing emphasis on the moral value of austerity, the consumption of food became a patriotic issue. Yet at times, class inequalities caused such campaigns to feed public dissatisfaction. As Bernard Waites has argued, 'excess profits, high food prices and inequalities of distribution' were 'affronts to the "moral economy" of the British Working Class'.²⁵¹ With ever increasing food prices, and decreasing supplies, the issue of food took

251 B. Waites, *A Class Society at War: England, 1914-1918* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [1992]), p. 217.

on a major role in producing what Waites terms a ‘them/us’ view of the situation.²⁵² When, in 1917 the word ‘profiteering’ entered the rhetoric of war, dissenters were able to emphasise their own patriotism.²⁵³ Capitalist profit making at the expense of the national community was viewed to be ‘immoral’, and contributed to resentment on the part of the working-class consumer.²⁵⁴ The figures shown in publicity concerned with food economy are overwhelmingly working class. Le Bas had warned the NCWS of such issues in 1916, when he argued that it would be ludicrous to ask those with little to save whilst they could see the wealthy still riding in first class carriages.²⁵⁵ Thus, the government’s focus on the moral value of austerity was arguably misdirected, as inequality took precedence over patriotism.

Within official and commercial material related to food consumption, phrases such as ‘nutrition’ and ‘nutritional value’ recur frequently. By eating less food, the individual can serve the nation by having more energy to take part in essential war work. Campaigns rely on placing pressure on the viewer to be a self reflective and self-regulating subject able to make conscious decisions based on apparent scientific evidence, and moral values. The dominant narrative through both official and commercial food publicity is one of nutrition and self-discipline. It created a system of surveillance not unlike Michel Foucault’s panopticon, establishing a structure of perceived reward for compliance, and punishment, either perceived, in the disapproval of one’s fellow countrymen, or real, if laws enacted by the Defence of the Realm Act are broken. Foucault defines the panopticon as a mechanism designed to place prisoners, patients, schoolchildren, any person or group of people that the authorities wish to watch, under constant surveillance. According to Foucault, it has a broad metaphorical application as ‘a way of defining power relations in terms of the lives of everyday men.’²⁵⁶ Attendance at lectures on wartime food preparation, recruiting

252 Ibid, p. 217.

253 Ibid, p. 218.

254 Ibid, p. 222.

255 TNA, ‘National Savings Committee Minute Books’ (16 March 1916), NSC 1/1. Ibid (23 February 1916).

256 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth Of the Prison* Tr. by A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 203.

meetings, involvement in philanthropic activities, badges of support such as pledge car and window cards declaring support for the National League of Safety: all of these acts confirm that the compliant citizen is doing his or her patriotic duty. Likewise, the plethora of posters, pamphlets, newspaper advertisements and articles on the war would have served as a consistent reminder to British citizens of their obligation to the national community.

WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER: THE RHETORIC OF SACRIFICE

Adrian Gregory, like Bourke, emphasises the links between soldiers and civilians arguing that the two were not as separate as literary stereotypes might suggest.²⁵⁷ The sophistication of the British transportation systems to the front, meant a constant flow of letters, and although soldiers were not able to fully express their experiences on the front line, according to Gregory, they tried to recount the conditions of warfare 'far more' than is often indicated.²⁵⁸ The sanitised version of life on the front line espoused in sections of the media was not entirely convincing.²⁵⁹ In response to a request for support from the NCWS, the Mayor of Beverly responded in the negative, his reason being 'the general opinion that prevails in the public mind...that the people of this country are not being correctly informed as to the real position of the war'.²⁶⁰

Civilians were not oblivious to the suffering of soldiers at the front, and it is therefore unsurprising that their sacrifice took centre stage in the values adopted by home front war publicity. The notion of sacrifice is a theme that threads throughout understandings of the First World War. Although it has been most frequently been equated with servicemen's

257 A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.133.

258 Ibid.

259 Recent scholarly work has served to demonstrate the close ties between soldiers and civilians. See Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996); Helen McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Tammy Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

260 Letter from Mayor of Beverly to Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office, TNA, 'Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office: Miscellaneous papers. National War Savings Committee' (30 November 1917), T172/623.

roles, in publicity concerned with domestic sacrifice a distinct emphasis is placed on shared experience. This type of material encourages the viewer at home to sacrifice a little, because those at the front are sacrificing so much. David Monger's use of the term 'self-sacrificial patriotism' is useful for understanding the use of the 'sacrifice concept' in war publicity aimed at the non-fighting community in Britain. Monger argues that this term is favourable because it acknowledges the 'willing' nature of domestic sacrifice.²⁶¹ It is particularly applicable to food campaigns whereby describing self-control through voluntary rationing worked on two layers, allowing those at home to feel that they were doing their part, whilst reminding them that they had little right to complaints whilst servicemen risked their lives.



Fig. 18: Anon (n.d.), 'She Helps Her Boy to Save Ships', IWM PST 6569.

261 David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 171.

A poster issued by The League of National Safety exploits family links between the home and the front by juxtaposing the contrasting spaces of a domestic setting and the front line (figure 18). Unusual for its emulation of photomontage, a technique that did not become popularised in Britain until the inter-war period, the image contrasts the figure of a mother preparing food, with her son who sits beside a warship's gun. The text, referring to the mother states 'SHE Keeps the Family to Victory Rations and Prevents Waste'. The act of saving food, is metaphorically linked with saving the lives of loved ones at the front. Less waste means that more ships can be freed up to aid the fighting. Another poster issued by The League of National Safety similarly adopts photomontage to show a sailor determinedly steering his ship through stormy seas. The text implores 'I risked my life to bring you food. Use it carefully – live on voluntary rations and win the war' (see figure 19). Such posters equate the acts of self-sacrifice and self-control as patriotic virtues within themselves. They work to persuade civilian viewers of the necessity for certain behaviours, and the need

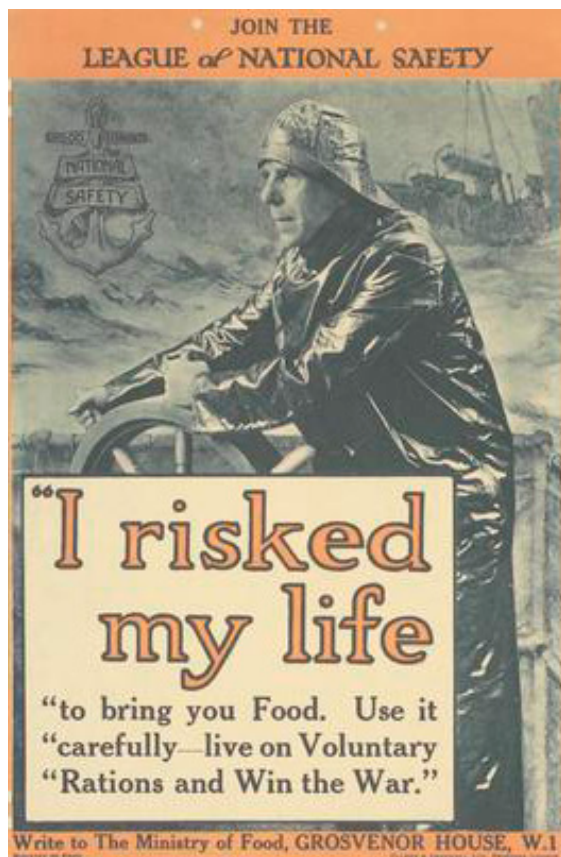


Fig. 19: Anon (n.d.), 'I Risked My Life', IWM PST 6547.



Fig. 20: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Fry's Cocoa, IWM uncatalogued.

to accept more economical ways of living. Accompanying leaflets to the food campaigns emphasised the civilian's duty to accept his or her small sacrifice. One such leaflet reads 'There is something noble and soul-stirring in making a big sacrifice, and it seems so small a thing to save just 2 ounces of bread a day - one small slice...'. Of course, an emphasis on sacrificing luxuries, and on restricting food intake did not bode well for commercial interests. In economising wartime conditions, commercial food advertising focused on relieving guilt by associating their products with the rhetoric of official campaigns. Fry's Cocoa proclaimed itself to be the 'strongest and best' (see figure 20). Drawing similarities with official campaigns, it depicts a strapping sailor standing atop a boat as he waves the British flag, in the background a line of warships sail in single file. Food is directly related to concepts of the self. Value is placed on the self-disciplining citizen. In war publicity, the stakes are made higher by linking the act of self-discipline towards food with the lives of servicemen. Through the act of purchasing and consuming Fry's Cocoa, the values extrapolated in the advertisement; the sailor's healthy physique, strength, and supporting the war, are transferred to the consumer.

Another poster by John Hassall for the National Relief Fund similarly contrasts front line fighting with the home front. In the forefront of the image, a British civilian looks out over three British soldiers who appear to be under attack (see figure 21). As the central soldier meets his gaze, the civilian puts his hand in his pocket to provide money. His civic responsibility is emphasised through the contrast between small domestic sacrifices and the sacrifice of fighting at the front. A closer inspection of the poster reveals a lack of conviction in the image of warfare. The explosions are weak, the men without clear bodily injury. Though violence is implied by the front line scene, it is not realised in the image. Anderson makes a crucial point about the concept of nation as something that is willing 'not so much to kill as to willingly die for such limited imaginings'.²⁶² The men in Hassall's image gain strength through sacrifice, it is their sacrifice that the viewer is intended to recognise, not

262 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 7.

their participation in willful killing. Allan Frantzen, who argues that rhetorics of sacrifice were closely aligned with chivalry during the First World War has suggested that the belief that soldiers had made the ultimate sacrifice to protect those at home was mere rhetoric, but that it personalised the scale of mechanised warfare by ennobling each soldier.²⁶³ Because servicemen were willing to die for the war, civilians had a duty to accept their own smaller sacrifices. While shame is clearly a factor, rather than emphasising a sense of distance between the home front and the war front, the direct juxtaposition of the two reminds the viewer that soldiers and civilians alike are part of the same collective mission, and it takes the efforts of both to win the war. Juxtaposing the war front with the home front was a technique also employed to sell commercial products. A Fry's cocoa advertisement makes a direct link between the war front and the home front (see figure 22). The left side of the image depicts British dockside industry, while on the right a silhouetted scene of fighting at

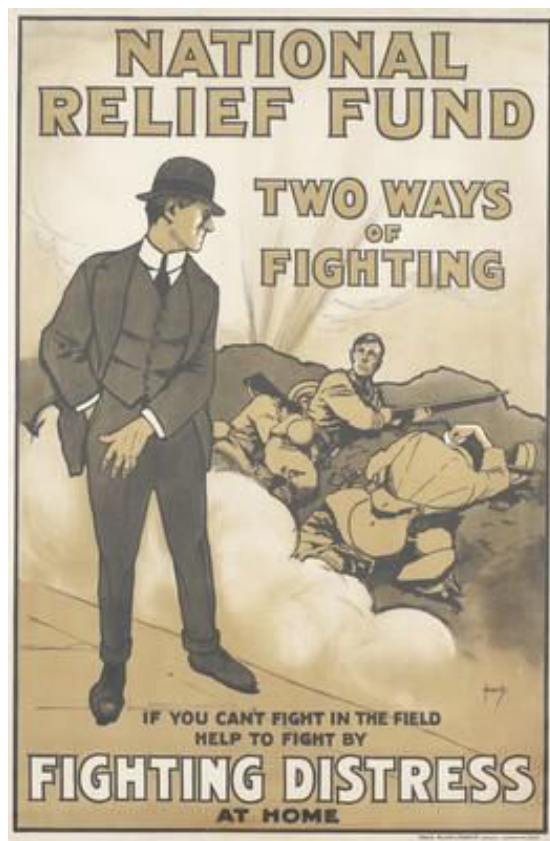


Fig. 21: J. Hassall (n.d.), 'Two Ways of Fighting', IWM PST 10890.



Fig. 22: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Fry's Cocoa, IWM uncatalogued.

263 A. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the First World War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 98.

the front is the focus. The text, with an arrow to the product is placed centrally to draw the viewers eye. It simply states 'The munition for real push and go!' By picturing home front war work alongside front line fighting, civilians are awarded a sense of agency, and a place in the battle. This technique orchestrates the creation of a soldier/civilian dichotomy to sell war aims, and in doing so promotes the sense of a community of citizens which includes soldiers, workers, and philanthropists, and discounts those that are not doing their part in the war effort.²⁶⁴

In the same vein, many of the posters for the War Savings campaign abstained from detailed, illustrative designs, preferring simple, block colour arrangements of weaponry to convey a sense of efficiency that creates a direct link between money and war to spur action. *Buy War Bonds Now* (see figure 23) and *Bomb Them with War Bonds* (see figure 24) have a clear and instant impact. The weapons are presented in a stylised and silhouetted form, geometric in style, alluding to the industrial nature of modern warfare they convey a sense of technological advancement and forward momentum. The designs emulate the style of the German object poster developed by Lucien Bernhard, whereby the construction of the image is simplified to focus attention on a singular section. In each, metonymic expression, whereby part of an image is meant to represent the whole, is employed. Aulich makes the observation that such simple stylisations, in which a single, representational image stands out against a vivid background, may have enabled posters to attract attention in the contest for visibility on crowded hoardings and displays.²⁶⁵ *Back the Bayonets* which is designed in the style of Vorticist C.W.R. Nevinson, and Sidney Stanley's *Bring Him home with War Bonds* convey a sense of urgency and power (figures 25 and 26). *Back the Bayonets* was based on Nevinson's poster design for his second exhibition at the Leicester Galleries in March 1918. In July 1918, Nevinson wrote to C.F.G. Masterman asking 'Could you advise me as to

264 T. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), p. 7.

265 J. Aulich, 'Graphic Arts and Advertising as War Propaganda' in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by U. Daniel, P. Gatrell, O. Janz, H. Jones, J. Keene, A. Kramer, and B. Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08.

whom to apply to on the War Bond poster department as I want to give them my red bayonet poster. They seem to want it as I notice they are always cribbing it - and none too well - in some effect or other.²⁶⁶ The line of bayonets, point upwards towards 'Now' in black text to reiterate the urgency suggested through the design. The soldier in Stanley's *Bring Him Home with War Bonds* approaches a trench without fear. Compared with Brangwyn's ruthless Tommy in *Put Strength in the Final Blow* he makes war appear effortless and uncomplicated in a way that it would not be on the battlefield (figure 27). In a Bert Thomas example civilian monetary contribution is made literal as heavy machine guns are fed with belts of war bonds (see figure 28). Though, again, violent warfare is stylised, the emphasis is on the effect direct action at home can have on events at the front. Max Weber has argued that the sacralisation of a soldier's sacrifice of life had implications for the community as a whole since it gives a sense of purpose to life as well as death.²⁶⁷ Through physically tying economy into warfare, these images gave civilians and soldiers a space to coexist where the heavy imperative of servicemen's sacrifice can be reciprocated at home.

Rene Girard proposes that there must be a metonymic relationship between sacrificial victims and their community.²⁶⁸ That they should belong 'both to the inside and the outside of a community' and that they are able to 'polarise the aggressive tendencies' of the community.²⁶⁹ This explains the role of servicemen in economy publicity, whose example is used for the purpose of encouraging a sacrifice for the community. As Furedi has recently explained, the war emphasised purpose, it gave meaning through which the lives of ordinary people could be affirmed.²⁷⁰ Through a framework of violence, civilian lives were enmeshed with the sacrifice of servicemen, where the ultimate sacrifice could be matched by purchasing bonds and certificates. Sanitised and highly stylised publicity both narrows

266 Letter to CFG Masterman on 21 July 1918, "Nevinson, CRW", IWM, *War Artists Archive*, ART/WA1/291/1.

267 M. Weber (1915) quoted in F. Furedi, *First World War: Still no End in Sight* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 39.

268 R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, Tr. by P. Gregory (London: Athlone, 1995 [1923]), p. 271.

269 Ibid.

270 Furedi, *First World War*, p. 5.



Fig.23: S. Stanley (1918), 'Buy War Bonds Now', IWM PST 10457.

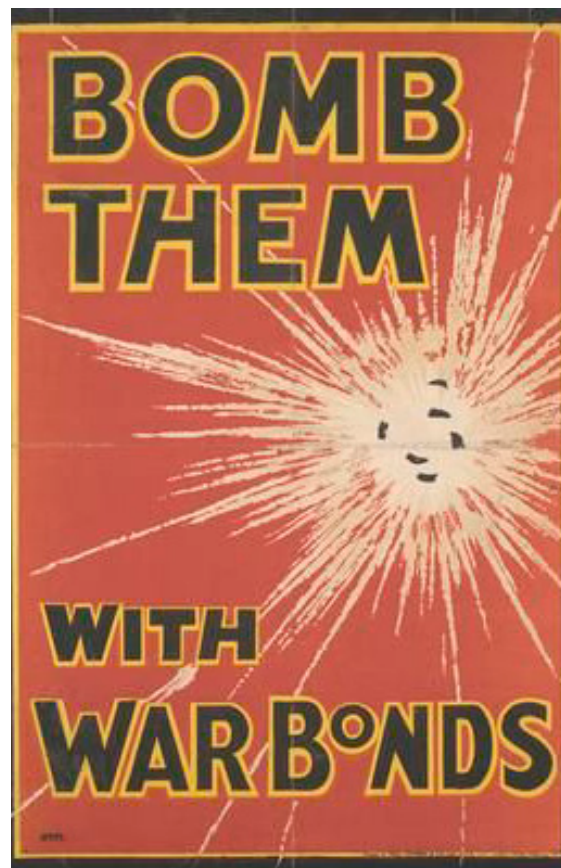


Fig. 24: Anon (1918), 'Bomb Them with War Bonds', IWM PST 10385.

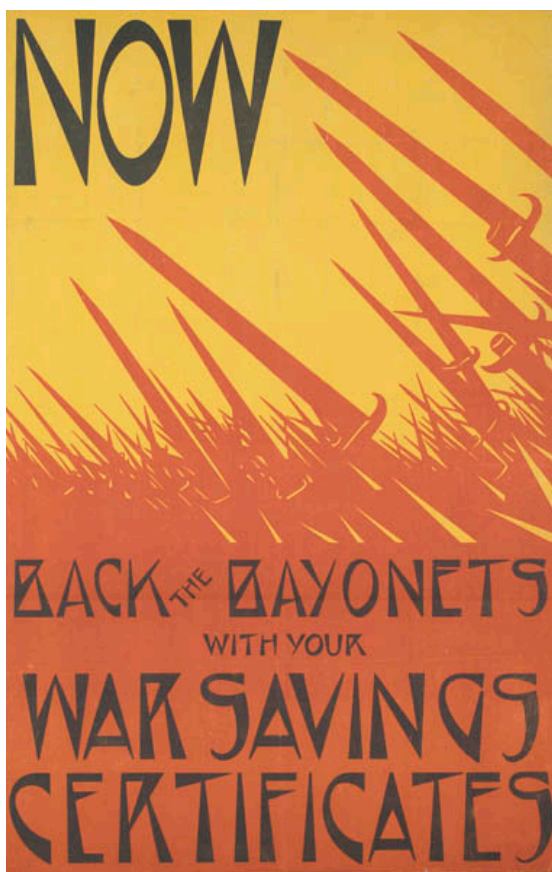


Fig. 25: After Nevins (1918), 'Back the Bayonets', IWM PST 8167.



Fig. 26: S. Stanley (1918), 'Bring Him Home', IWM PST 10304.



Fig. 27: F. Brangwyn (1918), 'Back Him Up', IWM PST 8427.

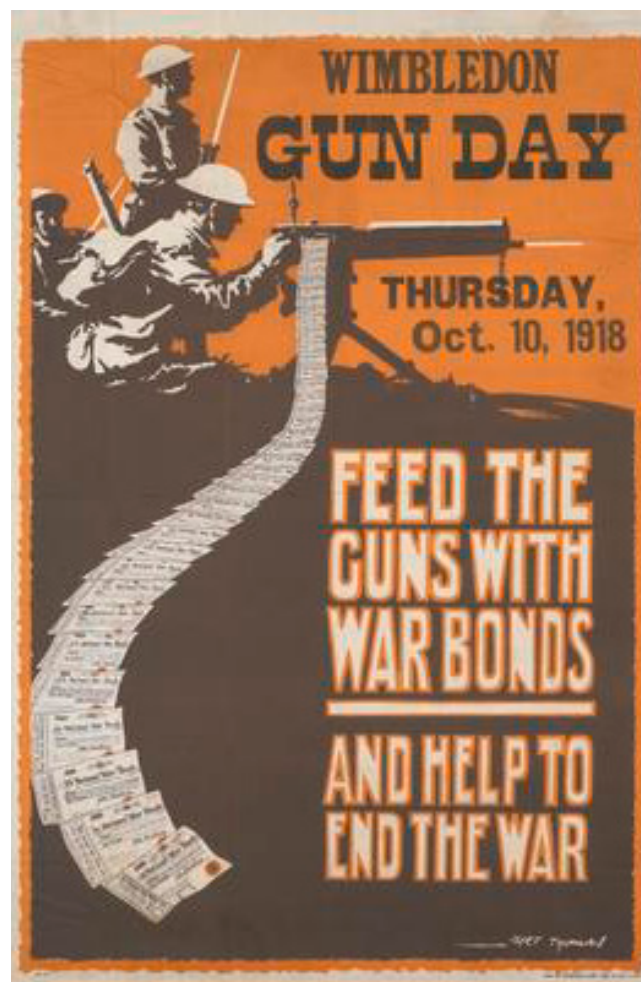


Fig. 28: B. Thomas (1918), 'Feed the Guns', IWM PST 10171.

and emphasises the gap between civilians and soldiers, at the same time, consolidating their mutual sacrifice by emphasising their role as participants in the same war, while preventing the taint of realistic warfare from reaching non-combatants.

PICTURING THE ENEMY: BRITISH VERSUS GERMAN CITIZENSHIP

One of the discourses in Britain of the war was that of a defensive war against a tyrannical enemy. By contrasting stereotypes of a ruthless Germany against the liberty and freedom of Britain, producers of war publicity could rely on generating emotional support for Britain's cause. Peter Sahlin defines national identity as 'the social or territorial boundaries, drawn to distinguish the collective self and its implicit negation, the other'.²⁷¹ Germany was made the 'other' against whom British citizenship could be marked. If a British citizen wasted food they were 'pro-German'. As is discussed in more detail in chapter three, Germanophobia had been on the rise in Britain since the early twentieth century as a result of a fear of losing imperial prestige and territories to the nation. The German naval rearmament was perceived as a challenge to Britain's traditional dominance of the seas and caused paranoia around fears of an invasion on British soil. This paranoid fear spawned a new range of juvenile literature between 1871 and 1914, commonly referred to as 'invasion literature', which combined with a nationalistic press gave rise to increasing xenophobia.²⁷² Therefore, when Germany invaded Belgium in July of 1914, the British public already had preconceived ideas about Germany as a ruthless growing power. Much of the anti-German propaganda produced in Britain came earlier in the conflict, when the German invasion of Belgium gave the British government a justification for declaring war. This material paints Germany as a brutal, militaristic aggressor, intent on bringing atrocity to a defenceless and vulnerable Belgium. This chapter will focus on the material that was produced later on in the war, which established British citizenship in relation to the enemy 'other' through visual

271 P. Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 271.

272 For a discussion of invasion literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Martin Tropp, *Images of Fear: How Horror Stories Helped Shape Modern Culture, 1818-1918*, new edn. (Jefferson: McFarland & Co, 2000), pp. 172-5.

narratives that frame good British citizenship against apparent support for Germany. In this later material, defiance against state sanctions was often framed as a ‘pro-German’ act. A poster issued in 1916 by the National War Savings Committee asked ‘Are You Helping the Germans?’ (figure 29). Aimed at the wealthier classes, according to the text, everyday

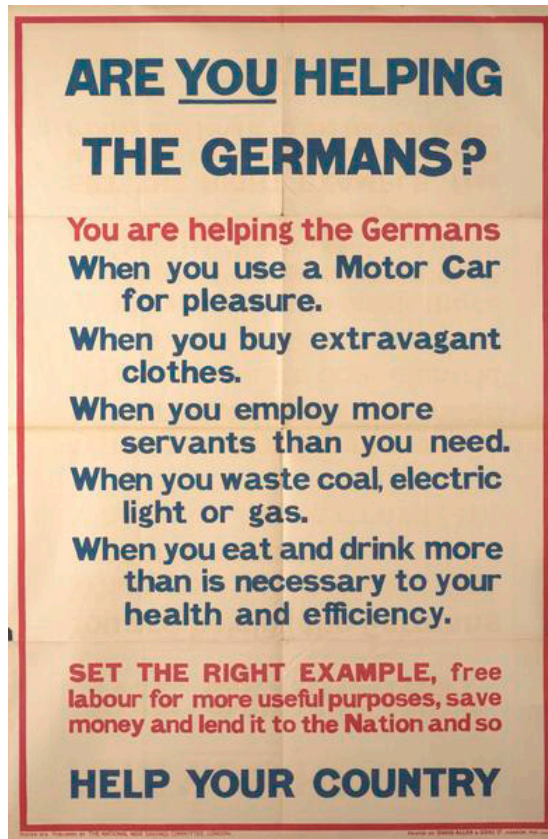


Fig. 29: Anon (1916), ‘Are You Helping the Germans?’, IWM PST 7891.

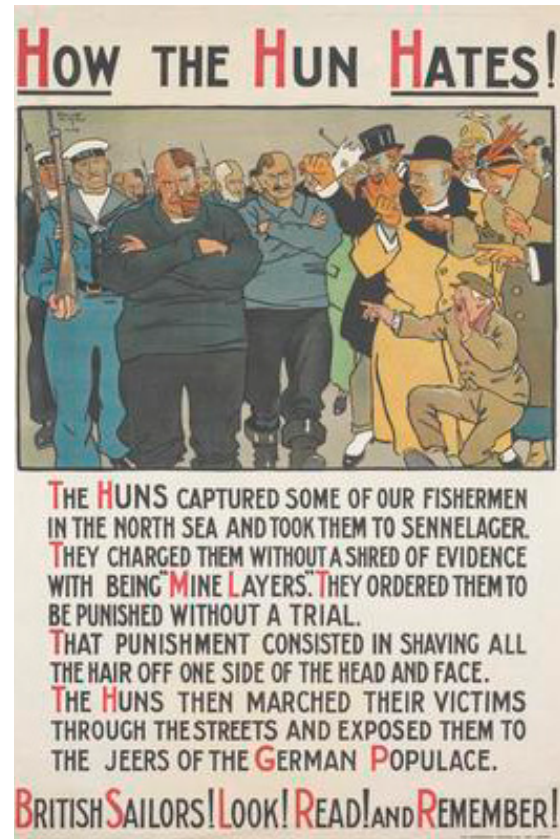


Fig. 30: D. Wilson (n.d.), ‘How the Hun Hates’, IWM PST 13551.

extravagances such as using a motor car, employing too many servants, or wasting coal or electricity all contributed to helping the Germans to achieve their own war aims. Posters issued by the Ministry of Food took a similar approach, imploring that ‘To Waste is Pro-German’. In these materials, the choice to exercise economy, whether towards food consumption, or luxuries becomes a visible and public response to the moral message. To return to the example of Foucault’s panopticon, War publicity which constructs a version of good citizenship in which non-compliance means to be ‘pro-German’ works similarly to bestow the feeling that the British community must all do their part to support war efforts. If sanctions are ignored, the watchful eyes of one’s fellow civilians will mark the non-complier out as a bad citizen.

Characterising a hated enemy means exploiting stereotypes: in British depictions of Germany, the German man was usually overweight, cruel, and bullying, and he was rarely without the pickelhaube atop his head. The opposite to Britain's men who are depicted as strong, resolute and healthy warriors, prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice for their convictions. Figure 30 demonstrates how negative war publicity worked through creating contrasts between Germany's cruel and bullying sense of citizenship versus Britain's moral, free and autonomous form of citizenship. The image depicts a crew of British fisherman as they are paraded through the streets of Germany by German sailors. Each of the fisherman has had his head shaved on one side, German civilians line the streets ridiculing the British men. The accompanying text relays an incident in Sennelager, when German sailors captured a group of British fishermen and charged them with being 'mine layers' without a trial. Their punishment, as depicted in the image, consisted of shaving all of the hair off one side the head and face, and being marched though the streets of Germany to 'the jeers of the German populace'. The German mob represent sections of society across the board, yet all are joined in their actions towards the fishermen. Writing in 1916 on the nature of crowds, William Trotter attributes German 'aggression' to their 'primitive social type', by contrast, Briton's are 'more complex' with a 'tendency towards a satisfactory solution of the problems with which man as a gregarious animal is surrounded'.²⁷³ Trotter's words are given visual form in Wilson's illustration, in which German society is shown to be unjust, primitive and immoral, given the nature of the punishment that they have apparently given to the fisherman, and that they have chosen to jeer and ridicule the innocent British men. Such qualities had already been ascribed to the Germans in light of their disregard for international treaties and reported atrocities in Belgium. The effectiveness of David Wilson's posters relied on the embodiment of ideologies that confirmed popular prejudices about the enemy in ways that appeared 'matter of fact', and which as a result, made them difficult to challenge.²⁷⁴ In figure 31, war is presented as a conflict between good and evil.

273 W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Crowd in War and Peace* (Washington: Beard Books, 2003 [1916]), p. 191.

274 D. Crowley and P. Jobling, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation Since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 115.

It illustrates a full length depiction of a German nurse pouring a glass of water onto the ground as a helpless and wounded British infantryman looks on in despair. The presence of



Fig. 31: D. Wilson, (1917), 'Red Cross or Iron Cross?', IWM PST 13544.

two leering German officers in the background, clad in the ever-present pickelhaube serves as a reminder of Germany's apparent fundamentally evil society, and affirms by comparison, the righteousness of Britain's cause, and the virtuousness of the British way of life. Printed in 1917, the scene in this poster would have attempted to counteract the growing war weariness by reminding the public of Britain's reasons for going to war. Roland Barthes' concept of 'naturalisation' can be useful for explaining how negative publicity worked to reinforce myths about the German population. According to Barthes:

'Myth essentially aims at causing an immediate impression - it does not matter if one is later allowed to see through the myth, its action is assumed to be stronger than the rational explanations that will later belie it.'²⁷⁵

275 R. Barthes, 'Myth Today' in D. Tallack (ed.), *Critical Theory: A Reader*, p. 41.

In negative war publicity, common stereotypes of the German populace appear natural and unproblematic and the complexities of German society disappear as a result of the immediate negative reaction to Wilson's images. Moreover, as Barthes explains, mythical images act as parasites, relying on other representations of the immediate image to achieve 'naturalisation'.²⁷⁶ The plethora of anti-German propaganda released in Britain during the early stages of war, cartoons which ridicule the German army, Raemaeker's *A Cartoon History of the War*, Lord Bryce's report and the wide reporting of German atrocities in Belgium in the media, all of these served to contribute to stereotypes of the German populace, and to enhance the effectiveness of posters such as those produced by David Wilson. The web of anti-German propaganda during the First World War gave the viewer meaning which could then be ascribed to Wilson's visual tropes.²⁷⁷ Propaganda which places the complexities of war into black and white terms aids the psychological desire for the simplification of issues, particularly during times of national crisis. At this point, the 'other' side becomes the evil to our good.

WOMEN AND THE RENEGOTIATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The recognition of women in First World War publicity was a product of the war itself. Generated through the need for female war workers, the development of labour saving goods, and cleaning and hygiene products aimed at a working woman, contributed to the greater visibility of women in the officially recognised areas of commerce, charity and government. Though the middle class domestic goddess of nineteenth century advertising

continued to have a place in the sale of consumer goods to the wealthier classes, more often than not, in the broader visual landscape, she was replaced by the busy nurse, munitions worker or even domestic servant. The changing role and status of women during the First

276 Ibid.

277 Crowley and Jobling, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation Since 1800*, p. 115.

World War has been the subject of furious debate amongst historians.²⁷⁸ Views can be broadly divided into two assumptions. The first, drawing on the work of Arthur Marwick, argue that the war was the catalyst for significant change to the position of women. Marwick, proposes that this was a positive change, representing a major watershed in womens emancipation. More recent historians whose views are ranged along those of Marwick's are Angela Woolacott and Nicoletta Gullace. Woolacott, who drew on IWM collections for her study of female munitions workers argues that women were able to challenge the pre-established order through their work and defy class difference with their increased spending power and changing social behaviour.²⁷⁹ Gullace proposes that the war created a 'cultural environment' that 'reconfigured the way Britons understood the rights and obligations of citizenship' and consequently gave women the opportunity to renegotiate conceptions of citizenship in two ways. First, at a time when citizenship was defined in terms of service to the nation, women displayed their patriotism in ways that ranged from making munitions to offering sons. Second, citizenship was no longer tied to the male body.²⁸⁰ Patriotism she argues, rather than manhood became the fundamental qualification for citizenship and in this, men and women alike could participate.²⁸¹ Gullace argues that the redefinition of citizenship during the war, allowed for the promotion of new ideas about gender and civic participation, and ultimately led to suffrage for women.²⁸² In the second camp, are those who argue that the war had little impact on women's role and status in society. These historians suggest that any gains made during the war were isolated to this period, and did not continue into the 1920s, and that the argument in favour of some women over the age of thirty receiving the vote in 1918 was won before 1914. Martin Pugh for example suggests that the battle for women's suffrage was largely won before the outbreak of war, though he

278 B. Waites, *A Class Society at War: England, 1914-1918* (Leamington Spa : Berg 1987), p. 151.

279 A. Woolacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p 5.

280 Gullace, *The Blood of our Sons: Men, Women, and the Regeneration of British Citizenship During the Great War*, pp. 4-5.

281 Ibid, p. 4.

282 Ibid, p. 2.

concedes that the war shaped the form that enfranchisement took.²⁸³ Nonetheless, whether the war did or did not have a lasting impact upon the role and status of Women in British society, most historians agree that during the period between 1914 and 1918, women experienced significant changes in their everyday situation. The recognition of a type of female citizenship between 1914-18 was fundamentally a result of significant changes with regards to female employment, whether voluntarily through charitable action, or as one of the estimated two million women who replaced men in paid employment. The average woman's wage more than doubled during the war, rising from 13s 6d per week in 1914 to 35s in 1918.²⁸⁴ While many of these gains were short lived and their longer term impact has been contested, at least during the war, women gained a place as citizen-consumers, and were recognised as such in print publicity.

Many posters and other wartime print publicity concerned with the conservation of food were aimed at women. As holders of the household budget, they were recognised as consumers who needed to be seduced and the success of voluntary rationing depended upon their involvement. Prior to the war, female figures were often represented as an allegorical figure, such as Britannia or Hope, or as the middle-class domestic goddess of the world of advertising. Posters issued by the Ministry of Food such as *Don't Waste Bread! Save Two Slices Everyday* (figure 32) and *She Helps Her Boy Buy Ships* (figure 18) which has already discussed in terms of its appeal to sacrifice, make an emotional appeal by contrasting the domestic space with the spectre of the warfront and reinforcing the idea that the kitchen, the woman's assumed domain, was as crucial to the war effort as fighting at the front. In one, the figure of a mother weighing flour is juxtaposed with her son on the deck of a ship. Her frugality will reduce the need for him to sail. In the other, a domestic servant stands in the foreground of an image of a British ship defeating a German U-Boat. Both make clear references to food saved at home, and lives saved at sea. The feminine activity of preparing

283 M. Pugh, *The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866-1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p 286.

284 I. Beckett, *The Home Front, 1914-1918*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006), p. 62.

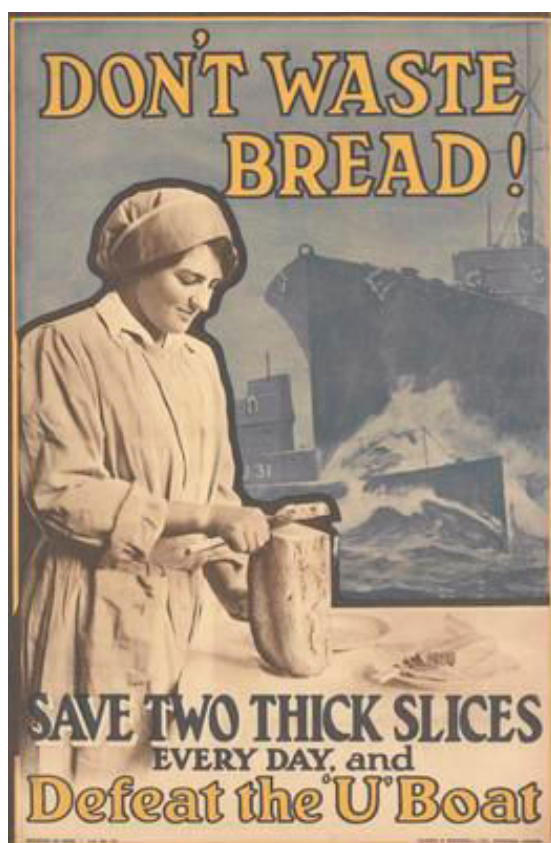


Fig. 32: Anon (n.d.), 'Don't Waste Bread!', IWM PST 6545.

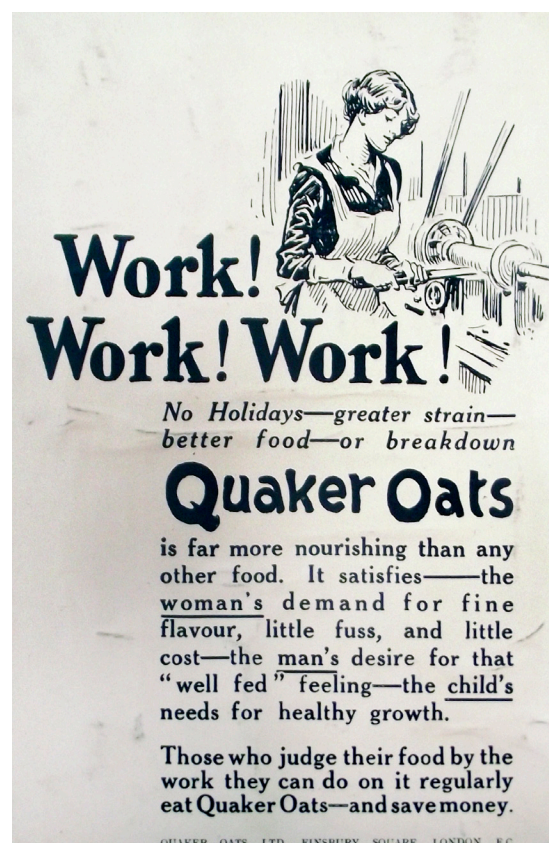


Fig. 33: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Quaker Oats, IWM uncatalogued.

food is reconstructed as war work, while sailors protect the nation, she can do her part, to protect him. They equalise the war work of men and women by breaking down the public/private dichotomy on which the ideologies of war and the home rest. Elements of life that would previously have been private, such as routine domestic tasks, become public events. In her study on women's writings about the First World War, Dorothy Goldman argues that women and men shared the war experience, in a way that they had not in previous wars, both in literal and ideological commitment.²⁸⁵ The 'Save Food' campaign was conceived as part of the anti U-boat campaign which reached its height in 1917. Therefore contemporary viewers would recognize the message that these posters aim to put across. Through the posters' use of photomontage, a direct link is made between female effort on the homefront and male work at the warfront.

A Quaker Oats advertisement seemingly undermines traditional gender stereotypes by

285 D. Goldman, *Women and World War I: The Written Response* (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. 120.

depicting a woman in the workplace (see figure 33). Nonetheless, although the woman in the Quaker Oats image is pictured working at a lathe, her form is undeniably feminine. In actuality her hair might have been covered, and she would have worn overalls that would not have emphasised her waist. The suggestion here seems to be that she is wearing an apron over a dress, as if she has been transported from the kitchen to the factory. Although it is possible that the artist has transposed the figure of the woman in this advertisement from an earlier more domestic environment in order to save work. The text would also seem to confirm traditional gender roles. Focusing on the price and nourishment of the product. The oats satisfy ‘the woman’s need demand for fine flavour, little fuss and little cost’ and the man’s ‘desire for that well fed feeling’. Pierre Bourdieu has differentiated between the representation of feminine and masculine relationships with food.²⁸⁶ Masculine identity, he suggests is understood as powerful and strong, it is associated with wholehearted male gulps and mouthfuls and large amounts of food.²⁸⁷ By contrast, ‘nibbling and picking’ is understood as inherently female. The text also capitalises on changing social conditions. In line with rising domestic wages because of war work, the manufacturers of commodities recognised a new market for ‘instant’ time-saving pre-packaged processed foods such as Oats and Cocoa. These foods saved time in the kitchen, allowing female workers more time to recuperate and to work efficiently. An advertisement for Fry’s Cocoa which draws on similar appeals depicts a young nurse sitting at a table for a brief moment of rest with a cup of cocoa before resuming her war work. The copy states ‘The nurse who is “just ready to drop” will find a wonderful stimulant in Fry’s Cocoa’ (figure 34). Important in this is the recognition of the laborious and emotionally draining nature of her work. Accessing the authority of science, it gestures towards the presence of ‘theobromine’ in aiding her recovery. Here, the nurse’s role is every bit as important as the soldier’s. Although she cannot sacrifice her life, she can play an important role in the war effort, and deserves to be rewarded with a little luxury for her efforts. Using the glamorous nurse as a conduit, the image serves to make female war work appear desirable, and by association, Fry’s Cocoa.

286 P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 248-252.

287 Ibid.



Fig. 34: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Fry's Cocoa, IWM uncatalogued.

A campaign for Vinolia appeals to the new class of single, working women produced by the war. Increasingly waged, and enlivened as holders of the household budget, they were recognised as consumers who needed to be seduced. These women had a disposable income, and manufacturers of cosmetic goods created advertising that appealed to their new position to encourage them to part with it. By contrast to the domestic servant pictured in advertising for voluntary food restrictions, the Vinolia woman is young, pretty and aspirational (figure 35). The text states 'Dirty and rough your work may be in service for the nation, taking toll of the skin and complexion, but Royal Vinolia Cream is sure and quick in its restorative, protective action. It makes red rough hands soft and white.' Delicate, lily-white hands were the hallmark of a lady in the Victorian and Edwardian periods.²⁸⁸ The text suggests that although the woman in the image has taken on a new, more manual role, she needn't lose her femininity, yet it also hints towards an aspiration to middle class ideals to maintain soft,

288 M. Marsh, *Compacts and Cosmetics: Beauty from Victorian Times to the Present Day* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books, 2009), p. 48.

white hands that are free from the burden of work. Another advertisement for Vinolia Talcum Powder ‘for the women worker’s toilet’ draws attention to the ‘Handsome Tins of Wedgewood Design’ in which the powder is housed (figure 36). The decorated earthenware pots that contained talcum powder would have had been produced as part of matching sets, and placed on the dressing table. Just as the female munitions maker in Vinolia’s advertising dominates the male environment of the factory, so can the space be feminised with cosmetic items. Although these images would seem to empower women as independent workers in control of a disposable income, they ultimately reinforce traditional values of femininity.



Fig. 35: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Vinolia, IWM uncatalogued.

Vinolia hand cream allows munitions makers to protect their ultimate asset; their femininity, in preparation for a return to domestic life. Perhaps what is more revolutionary about these advertisements is their depiction not of working women, but of working class women. As women, and



Fig. 36: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Vinolia, IWM uncatalogued.

as poorer members of society, they were politically disenfranchised, yet they are given a public presence in these advertisements as consumers, and as citizens contributing to the war effort.

CONCLUSION

Musing on the role of advertisers in selling the war to the British public, Charles Higham, the prominent advertising man wrote: 'When war broke out the State discovered that it had to get into instant touch with (1) the fighting manhood of the nation; (2) skilled workers valuable to our armies in the field, to our auxiliary fleet, to ship-building yards and munition factories at home; (3) the purse strings of the rich and poor alike.' Unlike previous wars, the First World War required the unprecedented mobilisation of both the war front and the home front. There was a recognition that without civilian labour and sacrifice the war could not be won. As such, the public had to be told of their duty to serve their nation with national contribution, and sold the notion of a national community of like-minded citizens at war. As with the call to men discussed in chapter four, what is notable is that advertisers paved the way in recognising the need to focus on stirring national emotion and fostering a sense of community and common purpose in the nation. In his consideration of the role of advertisers in the war, Higham further observes:

'And, most important feat of all, by skilful advertising the idea of sacrifice was robbed of its vague, rhetorical glamour, and narrowed down, pressed home, to every individual in the land. Have YOU done this, that, and the other thing? That was the masterstroke. That made one think - stirred one's imagination and sympathy sufficiently to make one act instead of talk and criticise.'

Read according to Foucauldian notions of biopower, the sacrifice of Britain's civilians became crucial to winning the war insofar as their involvement in war-related activities was essential to the strength and well-being of the State. As Sonia Rygiel argues, biopower provides a connection between the State and the population and is therefore a form of

power aimed at governing populations through the management of life itself.²⁸⁹ As such, individuals become important to governing authorities as ‘working, living beings’.²⁹⁰ In pictorial publicity behavior was governed and regulated through reinforcing specific citizen-traits such as sacrifice, economy and duty as *good* whilst policing non-participatory behaviours as evidenced by the discussion of ‘crime posters’. In food economy campaigns the rhetoric of health and hygiene served to create links between the body of the civilians and the health of the nation. While the behavior of the German nation served as a contrast against which the morality of the British could be regulated.

The overall rhetoric of patriotic citizenship is central to discourses present in pictorial publicity, drawing as it does on the pre-established notion of civic duty to convince the public to support the war through aiding their fellow-countrymen. Rather than abstract and allegorical imaginings of patriotism and citizenship, as in wider war campaigns commonplace and recognisable imagery was utilised to appeal to the public. *Our Day* (figure 1), *Save for the Little Ones Future* (figure 10) and *She Keeps the Family to Rations and Prevents War* (figure 9) have each been discussed within different sections of this chapter, yet equally each demonstrates how the notion of patriotic citizenship was expressed in pictorial publicity. *Our Day* constructs specific types of citizens –the citizen-worker and the citizen-soldier as model examples of good patriotic citizenry. Exhibited in uniform to indicate their important role in wartime society, they appear happy and healthy. Their presence together stresses their common purpose. The viewer can engage with such purpose by donating money to the Red Cross, or by participating through attending an ‘Our Day’ event. In *Save for the Little Ones Future*, economy again appears as a factor. This time, the viewer can aid the war effort by buying war savings. The emotional content of the image plays on the need to prepare for the future: a future that would be at risk if not for the sacrifice of Britain’s soldiers. As in the recruiting imagery discussed in chapter 3, the image constructs the male as the protector, his participation, even as a civilian, is crucial to winning the war. *She Keeps the*

289 Rygiel, *Citizenship*, p. 7.

290 Ibid.

Family to Rations and Prevents War emphasises sacrifice. The sacrifice of soldiers, imagined in pictorial publicity to be the model of an ideal wartime citizen, was employed by image makers to convince the public to accept their own, smaller sacrifices. The image works to persuade female civilians that their sacrifice is as important as the sacrifice of soldiers and sailors. By preventing waste, she can free up ships to serve. As this chapter has argued, such imagery worked to convince the civilian viewer of the necessity of participating in certain civic behaviours and the need to accept new ways of living.

This chapter has argued that the discourses of class harmony, social cohesiveness, common cause, sacrifice and duty promulgated in pictorial publicity, constitute an overall rhetoric of patriotic citizenship. This was reinforced by the nature of print media which allowed members of the public who would never meet to feel a sense of commonality. Such discourses were not limited to the examples discussed in this chapter. As the following chapters will elaborate, the discourses of patriotic citizenship weaved through campaigns relating to Belgium, recruiting and wounded soldiers. The convergence of war aims with advertising created the possibility of newer and more cohesive representations of the British public. One in which the working class, women and wounded men could play equal roles in securing victory for the nation.

The previous chapter examined how the visual languages of patriotism and citizenship converged in war publicity to convince the British public to support the national effort. Through examining how campaigns worked at a local level to solicit support, and focusing on the analysis of key appeals to economy and war workers, chapter two argued that the dominant visual rhetoric stressed class harmony, a sense of common purpose and the notion of national duty. This chapter narrows the focus to examine material relating to the invasion of Belgium.²⁹¹ It will argue that similar narratives were employed in these campaigns as interested parties sought to garner support by presenting the invasion of the neutral nation in moral terms. It will suggest that through Britain's machinery for the production and distribution of propaganda, visual representations of the German invasion had ramifications for the way that the meaning of the war was articulated in governmental and charitable pictorial publicity to the public. The plight of Belgium featured prominently in the British press during the first few months, enabling regulating bodies to promote the participation of Britain and her citizens as a necessary act. Pictorial publicity from both public and private concerns used rhetorical frameworks of national loyalty, gender and anti-German rhetoric to manipulate public opinion. War publicity was instrumental in providing a link between the state and the masses and was also used by charities and other interest groups because it was perceived as a crucial and effective link to the public. This chapter will trace the way that image makers targeted and promoted the wave of 'Belgianitis' that was spreading across Britain at the time of their production to justify Britain's participation in the war and to garner civilian support.²⁹²

291 Drawing on the findings of the research in this chapter I have published an article in the journal *Media, War and Conflict*. See L. Green, 'Advertising War: Picturing Belgium in First World War Publicity' in *Media, War and Conflict*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (December 2014), pp. 309-325.

292 The term 'Belgianitis' was used from 1914 to 1915 to describe the fervor of the British public in response to the invasion of Belgium.

Reflecting on the outbreak of war in a diary entry of 1915, Miss Coules, daughter of a Reuters News Editor wrote:

During the first three days of August everybody was asking “Will England join in?” and we were beginning to dread that we should have to be ashamed of our country or rather of our government – it was the German invasion of Belgium, of course, that decided it.²⁹³

With the German invasion of Belgium on August 4, 1914 Britain was given a noble cause. Not only had the Germans apparently violated an international treaty in their invasion of neutral land, according to press reports they were showing no remorse as they committed alleged acts of atrocity upon the innocent nation. Fully aware of the usefulness of the Belgian cause in garnering support for British involvement, the earliest declarations of war aims were almost always made in speeches about Belgium. In a speech made by Sir Edward Grey on the eve of war he stated:

with regard to the Belgian treaty, I doubt, whatever material force we might have at the end, whether it would be of very much value in face of the respect we would have lost.²⁹⁴

As the press justified the war in terms of unlawful invasion and the safety of civilians, Britain’s involvement became increasingly difficult to dispute. What little opposition the war faced in the early stages could be quashed with the argument that Britain was engaging in a legitimate act of defence.²⁹⁵ The war could be presented to the public as Britain’s

293 M. Coules, *Private Papers: Journal* (30 January 2015), IWM 97/25/1.

294 E. Grey, ‘Sir Edward Grey’s Speech to the House of Commons’, House of Commons, 3 August 1914 <http://www.1914-1918.net/greys_speech.htm> [accessed 04/01/2015].

295 Clark argues that even previously anti-war media such as the *Daily Star* newspaper began to support the war after the German invasion of Belgium. L. Clark, “‘Civilians Entrenched’: The British Home Front and Attitudes to the First World War, 1914-1918” in S. L. Carruthers and I. Stewart, *War, Culture and the Media: Representations of the Military in Twentieth Century Britain* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), p. 41.

moral obligation that would require the participatory support of her citizens. The assault on Belgium merged parliamentary, charitable and press support for the war and provided an apparently undisputable reason for a British declaration of war on Germany.

LITERATURE SURVEY

Literature on the German invasion of Belgium in 1914 can generally be divided across two scholarly themes. The first constituting studies that address the alleged ‘rape of Belgium’ and the consequent representation of the ‘Hun’, and the second including works that consider the approximate four million Belgian refugees that fled their homes as a result of the invasion.²⁹⁶ To provide a context for the historiography of the German invasion of Belgium, this chapter has been informed by John Horne and Alan Kramer’s *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*, Jeff Lipkes’ *Rehearsals: The German Army in Belgium* and Larry Zuckerman’s *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I*.²⁹⁷ Although these studies focus on the truthfulness of Allied accusations against the German army of 1914, an extensive analysis of Allied pictorial propaganda is lacking in each. Horne and Kramer, and Lipkes attempt to examine and analyse the events that took place in Belgium between August and September 1914. To an extent, both argue that there was an element of truth in Allied propaganda, as many Belgian civilian became the victims of unwarranted German aggression, although reports of the more serious atrocities against women and children were largely falsified. Horne and Kramer convincingly argue that German soldiers invading Belgium in the first stages of the war were unusually nervous and afraid, as they expected to be faced with barbaric *franc-tireurs*, or civilian partisans.²⁹⁸ As a result, German soldiers executed innocent hostages.²⁹⁹ Lipkes proposes a different interpretation of the events that

296 Because this chapter is concerned with visual representations of the German invasion on Belgium in pictorial publicity, the literature review will not address studies into how Belgian refugees were received in the UK. For more information on this area see P. Cahalan, ‘The Treatment of Belgian Refugees in England During the First World War’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 1977).

297 J. Horne and A. Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (Conneticut: Yale University Press, 2001); J. Lipkes, *Rehearsals: The German Army in Belgium* (Leuven: Leuvan University Press, 2007) and L. Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

298 Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, P. 132.

299 Horne and Kramer confirm the wartime official estimates that some 6500 civilians were killed in

took place in Belgium during the early months of the war, arguing in line with the title of his book, that German atrocities in Belgium were a rehearsal for Nazi brutalities in the Second World War.³⁰⁰ His justification for such a connection rests on his accusation that the occurrence of German war atrocities can be assigned to their national character, that it is something ‘peculiarly German’.³⁰¹ Given the lack of scholarly material relating to the German invasion of Belgium, Lipkes’ study is useful as an extra contribution for beginning to unpick the events of August to October 1914 which aids an understanding of the historical context for propaganda images of German atrocities in Belgium. However, his claims that ‘The invasion of Belgium precipitated a long chain of events that resulted in the murders of untold millions of civilians [in the Holocaust]’, and that the German people are innately barbaric rests on evidence drawn from pre-war literary and political observers, and are difficult to take seriously.³⁰² In contrast to Horne and Kramer, Larry Zuckerman’s *The Rape of Belgium* does not concentrate on the events of 1914, instead, he addresses the fifty months of occupation during which Belgian civilians feared for their safety, property and liberty.³⁰³ The study shows why the crimes were committed, and here, Zuckerman agrees with Horne and Kramer that the German army committed crimes against Belgian civilians as a result of the *franc-tireurs* myth, and the legacy of the crimes beyond the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference.³⁰⁴

Studies that address the pictorial representation of the German invasion overwhelmingly focus on the depiction of the ‘Hun’. In *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, Cate Haste focuses on how atrocity stories in the press about the sacking of Louvain, and the treatment of civilians, the murder of Edith Cavell and the sinking of the *Lusitania* worked to simplify the situation in Belgium for the audience by associating Germany with symbols of violence and brute

Belgium and France from August 1914 to October 1914. Horne, J and Kramer, A (2001) *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*. Conneticut: Yale University Press. 419.

300 Lipkes, *Rehearsals*.

301 Ibid, p. 13.

302 Ibid.

303 Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium*.

304 Ibid.

force.³⁰⁵ Drawing on arguments made by Harold Lasswell in *Propaganda Technique in World War I*, Haste argues that the first, and arguably most important task of British propaganda was to mobilise animosity against the enemy nation.³⁰⁶ Haste makes a good argument and as one of the few works that focus on the British home front during the First World War, her study has had an immeasurable impact on understanding of the period. Nonetheless, in line with other scholars who consider British propaganda and its presentation of the invasion of Belgium she simplifies a complex issue. As this chapter hopes to demonstrate, while it was necessary to mobilise hatred against Germany, Britain's decision to go to war in defence of another nation was about mobilising morality. Such material was influenced by how the British public viewed their place on the world stage, and the role British citizens had to play in contributing to the fight. Pictorial publicity that focused on the invasion of Belgium fed into wider rhetoric featured throughout publicity campaigns that promulgated national loyalty, participation and the constructed notion that being a good citizen meant involving oneself in activities that demonstrated support for the war.

In essays published in *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion* and the similarly named *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion: From World War I to Wikileaks*, David Welch argues that Britain is regarded as having produced the most effective atrocity propaganda of the first World War.³⁰⁷ He argues that the lasting stereotype of the barbaric 'Hun' served as a contrast to reinforce British values and emphasise Germany's alleged aggression and cruelty. Using propaganda produced by Britain and the United States, Welch draws out accessible themes such as the murder of Edith Cavell, the image of the German soldier as ape-like, the sinking of the Lusitania and the depiction of Belgium as brave against the German bully to demonstrate how British atrocity propaganda was built on the notion of Britain as the saviour of Belgium

305 C. Haste, *Keep the home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London, Allan Miller, 1992), p. 79.

306 See chapter on 'Satanism' in H. Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (New York: P Smith, 1938 [1927]).

307 D. Welch, *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion* (London: British Library, 2013) and D. Welch, named *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion: From World War I to Wikileaks* (London: IB Tauris, 2013).

during Germany's unprovoked attack.³⁰⁸ While Welch's analysis of atrocity propaganda pinpoints some of the key events of the First World War that persuaded British and American civilians to support Allied war efforts, his approach to atrocity propaganda in Britain rests on exceptional examples produced for the right-wing nationalist BEU organisation, or on Australian and American examples. Moreover, it contains little in the way of visual analysis and as such fails to explain how events were visually conveyed to persuade the British public of the necessity of war. As this chapter will demonstrate, in Britain, the advertising trade was self-regulating and shied away from producing images that might offend the public. Atrocity propaganda featured mainly in print newspapers rather than pictorially on posters and leaflets so that children would not be subject to potentially 'corrupting' influences. Producers tended to pictorially allude to atrocity, usually through the image of a mother and her child as in figures 8, 9 and 11, rather than presenting exaggerated images of the 'Hun' as demonstrated in well-known American and Australian posters.³⁰⁹ In addition, Welch uses examples of familiar propaganda imagery to support his argument, such as Fred Spear's *Enlist* and Townsend's *Bravo Belgium* cartoon from *Punch* and as a result offers little in the way of new analyses.³¹⁰ Nicoletta Gullace, who approaches the same subject matter as Welch, but with more visual analysis demonstrates how the visual trope of the German as ape-like reflect contemporary concerns about race, empire and otherness.³¹¹ Gullace argues that images of the German soldiers as asiatic barbarians tapped into ideas espoused by social Darwinism to 're-racialise the German as something other, hostile, and non-Western'.³¹² On a more psychological level, Gullace argues that propagandistic images of the 'Hun' became a trope meant to evoke fears of a primal enemy, and to imply responsibility for those unwilling to act in defence of Belgium. Such studies are useful, but exemplify how exceptional examples of British pictorial publicity have come to represent the norm. The

308 Ibid.

309 The exception being fig. 12 which was independently produced.

310 F. Spear, *Enlist* (1915) and F H Townsend, *Bravo Belgium* (1914).

311 N. Gullace, 'Barbaric Anti-Modernism: Representations of the 'Hun' in Britain, North America, Australia and Beyond' in P. James (ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 64.

312 Ibid.

aim of British pictorial publicity was to garner the support of the British public, therefore imagery focused on representing the public that the country needed, rather than the enemy that they hoped to defeat. By drawing from a larger pool of material, on more general images of Belgium produced by both official and charitable concerns, this chapter offers new insights into the way that the invasion of Belgium was presented to the British public beyond images of the ‘Hun’. Through visual analysis of pictorial publicity featuring images of the invasion of Belgium it will explore the narratives and discourses present in pictorial publicity, together with the broader discursive context within which these narratives were situated and constituted in Britain between 1914 and 1918. Produced by designers of commercial and popular culture working across a range of fields, imagery produced by charities concerned with Belgium is in many ways inseparable from the official war publicity whose rhetoric it parallels. By analysing war publicity material beyond the narrow scope of official posters, this chapter will establish the techniques employed by producers of propaganda to give meaning to the invasion of Belgium and popularise Britain’s decision to go to war.

THE LANDSCAPE AS VISUAL LANGUAGE

Before the war the British were aware of Belgium mainly through international trade exhibitions.³¹³ In 1910, a strong campaign for land reform had depended on Seebohm Rowntree’s *Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium* and this became an important resource for creating an impression of the Belgians in an age where the characterising of a people according to their nation was popular.³¹⁴ In *Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium*, the efficiency of Belgian agricultural techniques is contrasted against those of England and this might have contributed to allowing the press to easily stereotype the Belgians as an agrarian nation.³¹⁵

313 P. Cahalan, ‘The Treatment of Belgian Refugees in England During the First World War’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 1977), p. 13.

314 P. Cahalan, ‘The Treatment of Belgian Refugees in England During the First World War’. For the land campaign see also Roy Douglas, ‘God Gave the Land to the People’ in A.J.A. Morris (Ed.), *Edwardian Radicalism: 1900-1914* (London, 1974), pp. 148-64. For Rowntree’s role in the land movement see Asa Briggs, *Social Thought and Social Action: A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree, 1871-1954* (London, 1961), pp. 64-78.

315 S. Rowntree, *Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium* (London: 1910).

The value of Belgian knowledge about farming techniques was lauded in the press who drew comparisons between the Belgian refugees of the First World War and the Flemish weavers of old who had injected new techniques into a declining English wool trade.³¹⁶ English farming was set to benefit from Belgian knowledge about intensive cultivation and food production was to increase accordingly. A 1914 article in *The Times* extrapolated on the possible merits of the Belgian presence in England, exclaiming:

While we are endeavoring to enable our friends and guests to occupy themselves with the work to which they are accustomed, we have an opportunity, such as has not occurred since the religious persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to learn from a laborious and skillful foreign population many lessons which may prove of the utmost benefit to ourselves...Why should we not at length realise that extravagance of our dairy farming methods which has always shocked visitors from small countries? The winter is upon us. There is no time to be lost.³¹⁷

Notably, in *The Times* article quoted, the piece begins with a discussion about the organisation of the Belgians' return to their homeland once the war ended. This may reveal an underlying stress about the numbers of Belgian refugees that were arriving in Britain. If the British were not sympathetic to the Belgians cause, they would be unlikely to support the decision to go to war in defence of the nation, and of lesser importance, would be unlikely to back relief charities. By aligning Belgium with England, it seems that producers of war publicity attempted to target waves of empathy through a rhetoric of national solidarity. Visualising rural landscapes helped to promote a sense of familiarity with the alien country.

Britain's pictorial publicity campaigns relating to Belgium relied on presenting Britain's decision to go to war as a justified moral act. The public had to be convinced to tangibly

316 An editorial in *The Times* argued that English food production would increase with the arrival of the Belgians. 'Editorial', *The Times* (22 October 1914) p. 7.

317 Anon, 'The Organisation of Belgian Refugees', *The Times*, 5 Nov 1914, p.9.

support the decision by participating in wartime activities. Thus, pictorial publicity focused on presenting Belgium as Britain's 'brother-in-arms'. A sense of common purpose was reinforced in print media by establishing visual links between the two countries. By 1914, the association of rurality with national identity had a long history in England. Rural areas are venerated as national heartlands in part because of the significance of place to national identity. Rural landscapes became symbols of national spirit and character because of the perceived purity and stability of rural life and the persistence of traditional values and culture.³¹⁸ A rural theme is evident in material relating to Belgium, possibly as a way of calling attention to the Belgian-English relationship.³¹⁹ Although a diminished emphasis is often placed on the visualisation of landscapes in the early 20th century, as Ysanne Holt has argued, such images were prevalent, and were at the crux of tensions between British national identity and the social pressures of modernity.³²⁰ Copy produced by Hudson's and Sunlight Soap frequently pictured women and soldiers in the space of the British countryside, or outside a thatched roof cottage. The example in figure 1 places a wife and her husband at the forefront of a typical country landscape. Rolling hills, and a thatched roof cottage frame the central figures. The husband is dressed in traditional military regalia, supporting the accompanying text which states that the 'merit and quality' of Hudson's Soap 'are enhancing its earlier traditions - just as our gallant soldiers today are enhancing the traditions won by their regiments many years ago.' Since 1897, the British army had adopted khaki as the colour for troops stationed overseas, yet the uniform is presented in the extravagant decorative style worn by British soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars.³²¹ Such connotations may have reminded the viewer of a period that saw the creation of Belgium as a nation state by Britain, thereby reinforcing the sense of duty to protect the country.

318 Michael Woods, *Contesting Rurality: Politics in the British Countryside* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), p. 89.

319 Established in 1830 when Britain declared Belgium as an independent state at the London Conference of 1830.

320 Y. Holt, *British Artists and the Modernist landscape* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 3.

321 J. Tynan, *Representations of soldiering: British Army Uniform and the First World War: Men in Khaki* (London: University of the Arts, 2009), p. 5.

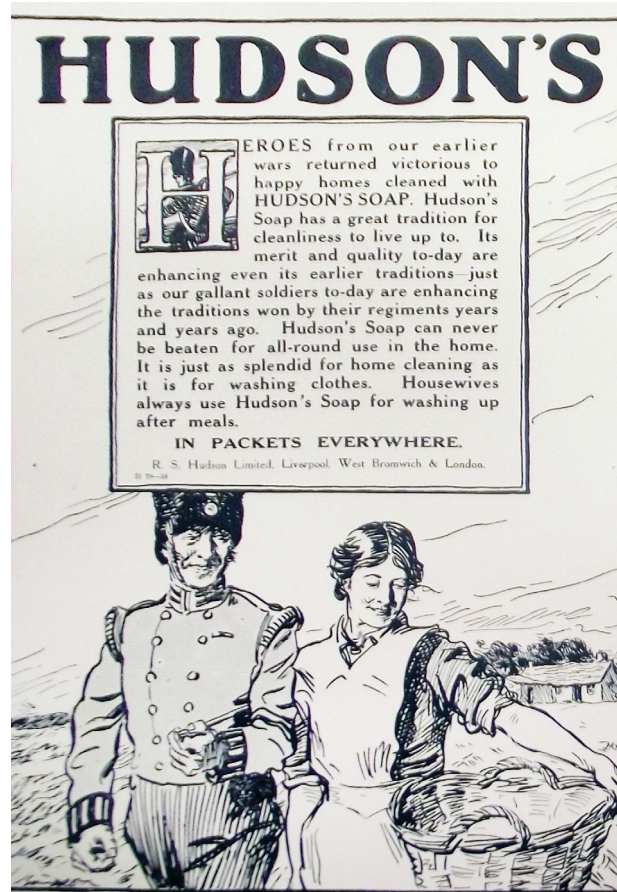


Fig. 1: Anon, (n.d.), 'Hudson's Soap advertisement', IWM uncatalogued.

In Patrick Wright's analysis of Shell advertisements he observes how by the inter-war period, the British public were so removed from traditional relations with the land, that the countryside could be presented in abstract and unrealistic terms.³²² Figure 1 idealises a very specific image of a rural England that would not have been a frequent view for most of the country's urbanised population in the early 20th century. The rural landscape is identified as 'traditional', in contrast to the modernity of the urbanised and industrialised environment that gave rise to the conditions of the First World War. Such tension with modernity is elicited through another Hudson's Soap advertisement which depicts 'The England of Hudson's Early Days' (figure 2). Again, a soldier dressed in traditional military uniform and his wife are framed by an idyllic rural village scene. A cottage stands to the left of the soldier,

322 P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 58.

while on the right, stands a barn with chickens littering the entrance. In the background a church spire is visible, and the movement of the wife's clothing suggests a gentle breeze. As the accompanying text attests: 'Motor power has improved on horse power, so you see motors in the hotel yards instead of coaches; but nothing has ever improved on Hudson's Soap for speed or comfort, so you see it in daily use now just as in days gone by.' In an era of rapid change, Hudson's stresses the longevity of their product by equating it with enduring images of the idyllic and gentle British countryside. Again, the choice of pre-twentieth century uniform is notable as by the time war broke out, khaki had come to embody modern ideas about fighting and warfare. Here, the visualisation of the British past is utilised as an 'object of desire', denoting the seemingly peaceable pre-war era light years away from the traumatic experience of modern war, and industrialised and urbanised contemporary life.³²³ Though the Hudson's soap advertisements do not represent the situation in Belgium,

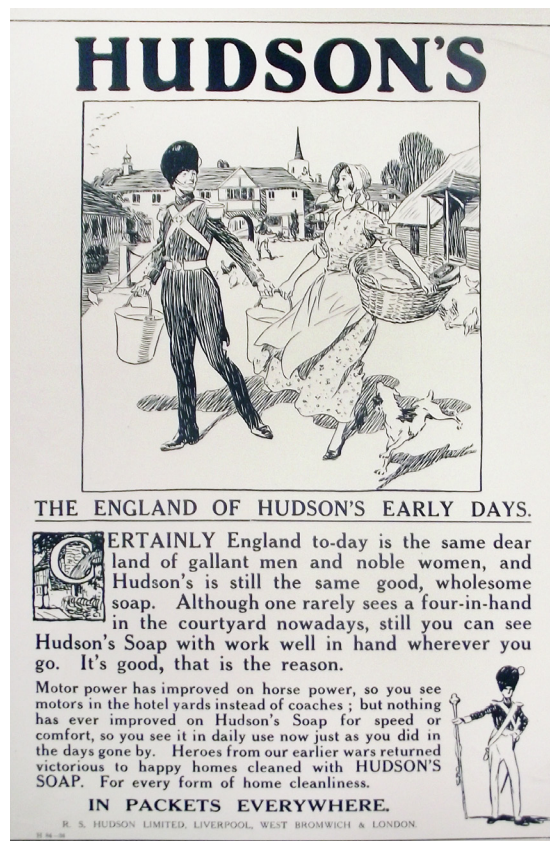


Fig. 2: Anon, (n.d.), 'Hudson's Soap advertisement', IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 3: Anon, (n.d.), 'Hudson's Soap advertisement', IWM uncatalogued.

323 E. Outka, 'Afterword: Nostalgia and Modernist Society' in T. Clewell (ed.) *Modernism and nostalgia: bodies, locations, aesthetics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 254.

they demonstrate how such visualisations of rurality as distinctly English were prevalent. In combination with press reports, this enabled producers of pictorial publicity to solidify the notion of an international community between Belgium and Britain by drawing on the visual discourse of Belgium as an agrarian nation.

Another Hudson's image depicts a mother, carrying out the traditional female task of washing the family's clothing, and her daughter, holding a bar of Hudson's Soap (figure 3). Again, the ideal of the rural village is extolled as the quintessential picture of British life. What is interesting about such images, is that they would have been viewed within urban contexts. While such imagery is not so radically rural as publicity produced for the French campaigns, they are identifiable as British, and have an important role during the First World War. A period during which Holt argues images of typical landscape scenes became invested with religious, mystical and spiritual associations, reinforcing familiar conceptions of typical English identity during a period of national crisis.³²⁴ As WJT Mitchell suggests, such imagery represents an 'artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable'.³²⁵ They rest on a similar technique of appeal that features in posters produced by Frank Pick's Underground Electric Railway Company, which in the 1900s and 1910s advertised travel as a means of escaping the drudgery of London for its rural outskirts, and that saw Raymond Unwin popularise the building of homes based on traditional vernacular architecture. This type of imagery is of course, exemplified in the PRC poster *Your Country's Call* which presents the viewer with a stylised and idealised picture of rural England that was remote not only from the fighting in the trenches, but from the home surroundings of the men that constituted the majority of Britain's army. Yet, it was such bucolic images of country life men were urged to protect (figure 4).

324 Holt, *British Artists and the Modernist landscape*, p. 4.

325 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002 [1994]), p. 2.

Poster number 16, in the Parliamentary Recruitment Committee's series of posters demonstrates the use of a rural scene in war publicity relating to Belgium (figure 5).³²⁶ The image depicts a British Infantryman holding a rifle as he stands steadfastly on a hill. In the background a Belgian village burns and a mother and her child approach out of the billowing smoke towards their safeguard. The poster directly addresses the viewer to 'Remember Belgium' and 'Enlist Today'. Aimed at young civilian men, the image attempts to place the viewer in the role of the central Infantryman, who by the same token is representative of Britain, the protector. The Belgian civilians approaching from behind represent the agrarian farmer whose livelihood needs protection from the brutal aggressor. The literal message of this poster implores the viewer to enlist in the British army. The wickedness of the German army is suggested through the distressed civilians and the burning village. What is interesting about this image is that it contrasts the rural landscape with civilian distress to mobilise innocence and purity against German corruption and violence. In America, propaganda about German atrocities in Belgium was utilised to spur the nation against Germany but it was done so in a more candid fashion. The British industry was self-regulated, and as a consequence relied on allusion to carry the intended message.³²⁷ Though careful to avoid using offensive imagery, the poster plays into media coverage of Germany's apparent contempt for international agreements. The mother and child are reconfigured as the subjects of a national myth system. They are the ideological brave Belgians romanticised in the British press. Alluding towards Belgium's historic link with Britain following the Napoleonic wars, one Parliamentarian explained in 1914:

England is... historically the protectress of the Belgians and of Belgium. Never have relations been more lasting than between those existing between England and Belgium.³²⁸

326 See also D. Wilson, *The Hun and the Home*, IWM PST 13576 and Anon (1914), *Remember Belgium*, IWM PST 6066. In his study into British recruiting posters Nicholas Hiley notes that this poster was reproduced as a design for cigarette cards in 1915, indicating that it was a popular image. N. Hiley, N., 'Kitchener Wants You and Daddy What Did You Do in the Great War?: The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review*, 11, pp. 40-58, p. 45.

327 Since the early 20th century the poster trade had to counter growing criticism of outdoor advertising due to the perceived excesses of cinema posters.

328 G.A. Powell, *Four Years in a Refugee Camp* (London, 1920), p. 9.

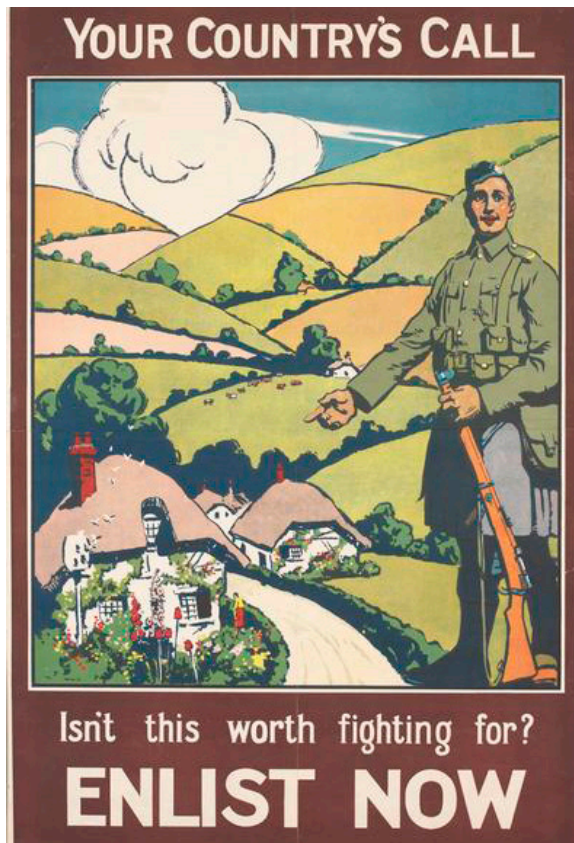


Fig. 4: Anon (1915), 'Your Country's Call', IWM PST 0320.



Fig. 5: Anon (1915) 'Remember Belgium', IWM PST 11407.

Thus, through press accounts and images, a metaphorical link between the two nations was conceptualised. This was further reiterated in British society through the prevalence of Victorian patriarchal values and the romanticisation of an idealised pre-industrial past.³²⁹ As Holt attests, the desire to define a connection between the land, the countryside and the nation was innate within Edwardian society and war publicity therefore played on such values to portray an ideal that would persuade the viewer to respond in a certain way.³³⁰ Of course, England has been an urbanised and industrial nation since the mid-nineteenth century. The experience of the majority of the country's population is, and was, that of urban life. Yet the ideology of England and Englishness is remarkably rural.³³¹ Attempts to encourage viewers to identify with the image was further secured by trading on the fear of

329 Holt, *British Artists and the Modernist landscape*, p. 2.

330 Ibid.

331 D. Lowenthal, 'British National Identity and the English Landscape' in *Rural History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1991), pp. 205-230, p. 213.

invasion. A poster by David Wilson works to mobilise concerns about German atrocities. *The Hun and the Home*, in which the ‘home’ is represented as an idyllic village, and the ‘Hun’ is represented through the devastation of a Belgian town (figure 6). The poster reproaches the viewer, imploring: ‘Back Up the Men Who Saved You’. Under the image of Belgium, the alleged horrific crimes of the German army are listed to contrast the experience of Belgian civilians with the peaceful British experience exemplified in the parallel image.³³² The explicit message of this poster is not easily misunderstood. It admonishes civilian men, who had made the choice to stay at home. Comparisons can be drawn here with arguments made in chapter two about representations of the enemy. What is interesting about this image is not that it supports the view of Germany as violent and brutal, but that it uses contrast to convince the viewer to support British war aims. The image admonishes male citizens. According to the poster, those who refuse to fight are not preventing the same fate from reaching Britain. Citizenship, expressed through joining the fight to save Britain from the same fate as Belgium, is used as a motivation to the viewer. The male viewer would be expected to join the fight, while the female viewer would be expected to encourage him. He must protect the values for which Britain fights, or align himself with the Germans through non-participation. Fears of invasion from the continent had captured the popular imagination in the late 19th century. Speculative fictions in 1882-3 and 1887-8 had depicted a secret channel tunnel as a potential infiltration route, while Max Pemberton’s *Pro Patria* released in 1901 imagined French troops tunnelling their way to Dover to emerge in a farmhouse.³³³ With Germany’s increased naval production, and concerns after the Moroccan crisis of 1905, popular imaginings of invasion increasingly featured a Prussian enemy. George Chesney’s *The Battle of Dorking*, initially published in *Blackwood’s Magazine* and later issued as a sixpenny pamphlet sold over 80,000 copies in the first month of release, terrifying the British populace with depictions of Prussian troops easily overcoming British defences.³³⁴ Similarly, William Le Queux’s 1906 *The Invasion of 1910* is often cited by

332 Details about atrocities are only presented as text to refrain from offending the civilian viewer.

333 M. Tropp, *Images of Fear: How Horror Stories Helped Shape Modern Culture, 1818-1918* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 1999), p. 174.

334 Ibid.



Fig. 6: D. Wilson, (n.d.) 'The Hun and the Home', IWM PST 13576

historians as an example of the levels of fear about a German invasion of British land amongst the populace. Translated into two languages and selling over one million copies, it depicted in detail a fictional German invasion complete with plans, 'official' documents and proclamations from the British war office and maps. Le Queux envisioned barbaric forces descending on London during an attack on the city as the populace were forced to retreat underground.³³⁵ As Martin Tropp observes, the horror stories that captured the public imagination in the years preceding the First World War played on contemporary fears about invasion from a foreign, usually German, enemy, blurring the line between fantasy and a potential reality. On 22 December 1914, *Manchester Evening News* reported that in London, white slips had been placed over the word 'Belgium' on *Remember Belgium*

335 W. Le Queux, *The Invasion of 1910* (London, 1906).

to alternately read 'Remember Scarborough' and 'Remember Whitby'.³³⁶ The attacks on Scarborough and Whitby in December 1914 had drawn public outrage due to the number of civilian deaths, but more importantly, they sent a message to the population of Britain that the island status of the country did not leave it immune from invasion. The messages in Remember Belgium, of attacks on innocent civilians and the invasion of land, aimed to spark sympathy for the Belgian people, outrage at alleged German atrocities, and most importantly, fear that the violence of war in Belgium could be experienced by those on the home front.

MOBILISING INNOCENCE: GENDERING BELGIUM

Presenting the invasion of Belgium as a threat to the family was one of the key tropes in pictorial publicity concerned with the nation's plight. As Benedict Anderson has argued, the family has traditionally been considered as the domain of solidarity, and producers of pictorial publicity hoped to strengthen the notion of Belgium and Britain as 'brothers-in arms'.³³⁷ On more fundamental level, German aggression was considered to go against traditional British notions of fairness in war. If press reports were considered to be true, the German army had attacked civilians including women and children. As such, pictorial publicity focused on mobilising the notion of the innocent female to spur action from British citizens. Images of female victims took on a heightened significance as producers of pictorial publicity sought to convince the public to support British aims by presenting the war as a fight for morality.

A poster designed by Gerald Spencer-Pryse for the Belgian Red Cross depicts a young woman walking amongst a group of fellow Belgians (figure 7). Rural displacement is the theme of this image. The displacement of the Belgian population testified to the age of 'total war'. The tattered clothing of the young woman framed in the centre of the image and the young girl walking slightly ahead marks them out as refugees; though whether they

336 Anon, 'Facts and Comments' in *Manchester Evening News* (22 December 1914), p. 7.

337 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]), p. 148.



Fig. 7: G. Spencer-Pryse (n.d.), 'Belgian Red Cross Fund', IWM PST 0361.

are from a rural or urban background is difficult to determine. The ripped top, the low cut open neckline and the protection of the soldiers around her are suggestive of German atrocities, mirroring press reports about attacks on civilian women. Her gaze warrants affection from the viewer. Emphasised by the younger girl in the foreground, the image trades on the idea that Belgian people needed to be rescued. The direct effect of military operations on civilians is made visible, highlighting an erosion of the wartime distinction between military and civilian society. Spencer-Pryse spent time in Belgium during the war. His other works from this period are located and dated between the Belgian coast and Ypres in 1914 and it is possible that this work is based on a sketch from this time. The characters in this poster are made to represent Belgium; 'rural qualities' of doggedness, frugality, hard work, patience and tenacity, all admirable to the British, are worked into the image as the Belgian's continue to hold off against the Germans despite injury and homelessness. If the

more metaphorical meaning were not enough to convince the viewer that these characters represent Belgium, the colours Spencer-Pryse has chosen to make use of, red, yellow and black, the colours of the Belgian flag, make the link all the more obvious. They are the ideological brave Belgians romanticised in the British press. Though the dress of the central female figure marks her out as a refugee, her face has a delicate refinement, demonstrated through her fine features and her pale complexion. This serves to prevent the alienation of the discerning middle-class viewer who might have been prompted through charitable work to lend aid to the organisation. If not for her status as a refugee, her dishevelled state would have been deplorable to respectable society. Her hat is also notable. While her low cut dress, and her exposed arms might serve to alienate respectable viewers, her hat arguably suggests that she is trying to maintain an air of respectability. Like the recruitment poster in figure 5, the Red Cross poster dwells upon the idea that Belgium needs protection and that it is the duty of the British to provide aid. This simultaneously serves to advertise what the image makers want to gain, which is for the viewer to either give money to the Red Cross or give their life to the British army, while reinforcing the apparently unavoidable decision of the British government to go to war with Germany. As in the charitable response to wounded soldiers discussed in chapter five, the Red Cross and other organisations contributed to a kind of governing-by-proxy whereby the aims of both governmental and non-governmental organisations became merged into a singular visual language aimed at soliciting support from the British public.

The plight of Belgian citizens featured prominently in the British press during the first few months of war, and the charitable response of the public is telling of the nation's wider response to the situation. In the early days of war, there was an explosion of effort amongst the public, that was later organised, first by charitable organisations and later by government.³³⁸ The recurrence of references made to defenceless women and children suggest that the one of the dominating visual discourses of the invasion of Belgium was

338 P. R. Grant, 'Mobilising Charity: Non-Uniformed Voluntary Action During the First World War' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University London, 2012), p. 153.

framed through concerns with gender and the family. As in the representation of men in recruiting posters and the depiction of wounded soldiers in charitable campaigns, this discourse had a precedent. As Tammy Proctor observes even the word ‘civilian’ had gendered connotations, assumed to be feminine and often used as a shorthand version of the phrase ‘innocent women and children’.³³⁹ In the conditions of war, the idea of a civilian man was an oxymoron as the nation mobilised all adult men in service to the state.³⁴⁰ As representative of innocence in the guise of the family, or in the visual language of the *Pietà*, the imagery of women and children was central to maintaining the moral high ground for Britain. On 28 December 1914, *Manchester Guardian* reported its ‘Seventh Official Report’ on alleged atrocities towards Belgian women and children stating:

On August 23 the Germans placed women and children in front of their attacking column at the bridge opposite Biez. Women and children were hit by the Belgian shots.³⁴¹

This was typical of news reports about the German invasion of Belgium, which all too often used tales of violence against innocent civilians to create a set of seemingly incontrovertible morals with which to silence opposition to the war and cajole recruits. Representations of women in public spaces were increasingly common during the First World War, and are particularly noticeable in charity images and in official publicity concerning the ‘rape of Belgium’. A 1914 article printed in *The Times* ‘Stories from the Front’ series states ‘You would be sorry for the poor Belgian women having to leave their home with the children clinging to them.’³⁴² The article is reporting on a Scots Greys attack on German troops, and the point about Belgian women and children is made within a context that almost

339 Tammy Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), p. 4.

340 Ibid, p. 4. The exception was the visual discourse of the wounded soldier as a ‘site of sentimentality’, however, as chapter five argues, such discourses emasculated the wounded man, using his image interchangeably with that of civilian women and children to elicit sympathetic support.

341 Anon, ‘GERMAN ATROCITIES IN BELGIUM: SEVENTH OFFICIAL REPORT WOMEN AND CHILDREN USED AS SHIELDS’, *Manchester Guardian*, 28 December 1914, p.7.

342 Anon, ‘Stories From the Front’, *The Times*, 20 September 1914, p. 9.

serves to provide a justification for German deaths at the hands of the British soldiers. Highlighting female vulnerability provided readers with innocent victims with whom they could empathise.³⁴³ The imagery is simultaneously conventional and challenging. While in wider war publicity, women often appear as representative of a profession, most commonly, nursing, continuity is emphasised in terms of the portrayal of the traditional female role. The discourse of vulnerability surrounding female representation was emphasised, while the nature of war provided the conditions for challenging this image.

John Hassall's design for the Belgian Canal Boat Fund similarly uses a gendered rhetoric to appeal to the viewer (figure 8). The poster depicts a Belgian woman and a young girl crouching at the side of a canal. Their heads are bowed in a mutually consolatory gesture as they mourn the devastation and their plight. The loss of the father is assumed by his absence and by the presence of a young boy standing protectively over the female figures. His gaze is directed towards the viewer, shifting the role of responsibility. The familial tie between the woman and her children is central to the poster. Maternal suffering is universal. It speaks of the sacrifice of mothers, and locates specifically female distress in the devastation. Perhaps more importantly, maternal suffering is relatable to all, regardless of class, age or political affiliation. In the background a windmill appears bombed and broken. The politically Conservative John Hassall was known for his designs of railway designs for railway posters showing tourist attractions. In this piece he takes the familiar image of Belgium, and distorts it according to the devastation of war. The text urges the viewer to send 'something' to the civil population behind firing lines, prompting the viewer to recall the sacrifice of the Belgian people. In the absence of the father, the obligation to care for the female and her children falls to the reader of the poster.

One of the more recognisable images produced to support initiatives concerned with Belgium is Louis Raemaekers' 1916 woman and child image (figure 9). Raemaekers was most well known for his *Cartoon History of the War*, which became notorious for offering a

343 S. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (Pearson Education Ltd: Essex, 2002) p.19.

vivid rendition of the German army as barbarian. His woman and child was replicated widely on both posters and pamphlets. The intimate portrayal shows a woman, presumably a mother, cradling her child. Behind the pair blazes the familiar fire whose image is repeated throughout visual material relating to Belgium. The central figures draw striking allegorical parallels with the *Pietà*, an iconography that has been replicated throughout the history of

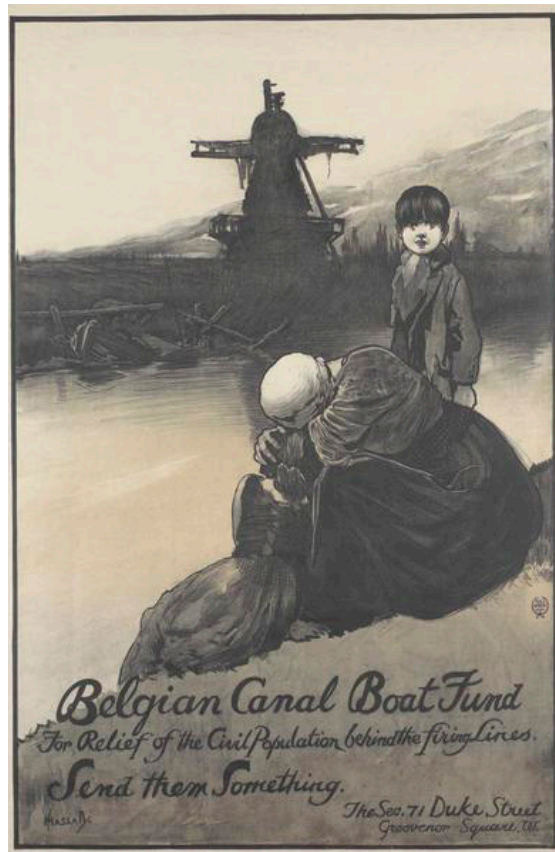


Fig. 8: J. Hassall (1916) 'Belgian Canal Boat Fund', IWM PST 2708.



Fig. 9: L. Raemakers (1916) 'In Belgium, Help', IWM PST 10962.

western art, and that would have been immediately familiar to the contemporary viewer. As such, it reinforces the notion of Belgium's sacrifice; encouraging the same in the viewer. The power of the Madonna is wielded by agency rather than directly. The woman reminds the viewer of the maternal role, she is the humble heroine of 'brave little Belgium'; but rather than representing the mother as an icon of strength, she represents a figure of sacrifice and suffering. The concept of sacrifice, shared by countless men and women during the war, was entrenched in the philosophy of idealism and the sense of nationalism that pervaded the

war. It follows traditional gender lines by keeping maternal concern separate from economic resources. While on the surface, the image requests a charitable sacrifice on behalf of the viewer, to the Belgian cause, its meaning in the context of wider war publicity alludes to the familial sacrifice made by Belgian women in the face of German advancement. Although charities largely operated outside of government control, there is a startling uniformity between the themes present in the visual propaganda of the two. Charity was responding and adapting to the needs of the nation. This is only more evident in a pamphlet produced by the NCRB, which adopts the Raemaekers image. The text opens with a direct appeal to the public to relieve ‘oppressed and starving’ Belgian citizens. It states: ‘The number of destitute Belgians in Belgium today exceeds 3 millions. Most of these are women and children.’ It then goes on to read:

‘It has been conclusively proved that the Germans, contrary to every civilised precedent, will adhere to their “openly expressed intention not to supply the Belgian population with food.” The words quoted are those used by Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the government in the House of Commons on January 27th last. That Lord Robert Cecil does not overestimate the calculated cruelty of the German intention is shown by the fact that in Poland, where there is no neutral channel for the distribution of relief, the civilian population have been allowed to die like flies... It has also been definitely ascertained that the food sent into Belgium does not reach or benefit the Germans.’³⁴⁴

The pamphlet ends with a request for donations. A number of points in this text highlight the way that the information in the pamphlet converges with Raemaekers image to produce a sense of meaning that slots easily into the anti-German narratives present in British propaganda. The main point of the text is to solicit donations to the NCRB by highlighting the suffering and sacrifice of Belgian civilians, particularly women and children at the

344 C. Wakefield, ‘In Belgium Help’, Leaflet produced by National Committee for Relief in Belgium (1916), Imperial War Museum, uncatalogued.

hands of the German army. This serves to reinforce press accounts of German atrocities in Belgium, which acted as a prompt for British support for the war. The pamphlet is keen to stress to the reader that relief supplies will not reach the German army. In times of war, only Allied supporters are worthy of philanthropy.

PICTURING THE ENEMY: THE 'RAPE OF BELGIUM'

As a mobilisation device, the Belgian situation contributed to consolidating the notion of an international community at war. What is crucial to note is that imagery depicting the 'Hun', rather than the effect of the 'Hun' is infrequent in British pictorial publicity. The familiar image derived from First World War propaganda of the German represented as an ape was established in material produced by America and Australia. In Britain, such material was confined to that produced by the BEU, a right-wing organisation established in 1916 which stood for the promotion of patriotism, the Empire and anti-Socialism. As a newly established independent organisation, it is difficult to state with any conviction how many copies of their posters the BEU produced, and therefore the size of the audience for such imagery. In 1917, the organisation listed 50 branches in Britain but the available evidence cannot provide an accurate picture of the number of members in the BEU. Panikos Panayi has arrived at an estimated figure of around 10,000, and it is clear that during the inter-war period, the BEU became more influential, counting a number of establishment figures amongst its senior echelons.³⁴⁵ Yet in the early days of 1917 and 1918 it is difficult to assess what kind of impact the group had, and how seriously imagery produced by the organisation was taken by the British public. The most notable reason for the lack of overtly graphic or offensive imagery was the self-regulatory advertising trade which was careful to avoid producing imagery that might severely offend the viewer. That is not to say that mobilising hatred against Germany was not an important discourse in First World War publicity, only that the trade had to negotiate the 'rape of Belgium' through imagery that alluded to the apparent actions of Germany.

345 P. Panayi, 'The British Empire Union in the First World War', in T. Kushner and K. Lunn (eds.), *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1990), p. 113.

On the topic of Belgians arriving in England to seek refuge *The Times* spoke of ‘welcome invaders’ and a ‘peaceful invasion’.³⁴⁶ However, the solidarity that the reception of the refugees seemed to demonstrate also arguably reveals the fears of a nation at war bracing itself for the onslaught of an enemy that was mythologised in the media as much as it was hated.³⁴⁷ Reports of supposed German atrocities in Belgium provided both the government and the media with a concrete enemy. Almost overnight, German *Kultur* and the German people became the barbaric ‘other’. The British public was outraged at the almost daily reports of German atrocities that were reported in the newspapers during August 1914. Fostered by tales told by Belgian refugees and stories spun by newspaper reporters, the British press wove a tapestry of what at first hand appeared to be well-documented war crimes. The Belgian refugees were not only war victims, they had also fallen prey to an apparently ‘barbaric’ enemy.³⁴⁸ An article featured in the *Illustrated London News* titled ‘Little Belgium’s Fight Against the German Invaders’ pitted images of Belgian resistance against illustrations of destroyed towns and villages. This served to highlight the contrast between German ‘savagery’ and the seemingly dauntless courage of the Belgians. The use of contrast is significant as it allowed producers of pictorial publicity to draw distinct moral lines between the Germans, and Belgium and Britain. While the experience of the German invasion in Belgium was deemed by the media to illustrate German ‘savagery’ and ‘atrociousness’ the welcoming reception of the refugees to England symbolised Britain’s commitment to upholding international law and the rights of ‘brave little Belgium’. To support this view of Germany, Britain’s WPB commissioned distinguished individuals to produce pamphlets about immoral forces employed by the Germans. Aware that private sources might seem less manipulative, private publishing houses such as OUP were used to publish pamphlets and reports.³⁴⁹ Charities concerned with Belgian relief followed suit, converting the cause of charity into propaganda through the production of leaflets,

346 Anon, ‘Editorial’ in *The Times* (22 October 1914), p. 7.

347 P. Purseigle, ‘“A Wave onto Our Shores”: Exile and Resettlement of Western Front Refugees, 1914-1918’ in *Contemporary European History* Vol.16, no. 4 (2007), pp. 427–444, p. 437.

348 Ibid.

349 P. Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914–1818*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), p. 16.

pamphlets and literary anthologies that derided the ‘Hun’. One such report, written by the noted writer GK Chesterton refers to the German invasion as ‘The Blow From Hell’, paralleling portrayals in the press of Kaiser Wilhelm as the devil.³⁵⁰ Another issued by the National Committee for Relief in 1915 places responsibility onto the reader asking ‘Will You Let Them Die?’ (figure 10). The text, accompanied by a photograph of an emaciated mother and child set against two empty food bowls informs the would-be donator that the ‘Hun’ is deliberately allowing ‘hundreds of thousands of Belgians’ to starve to death.

John Hassall’s design for the NCRB traded on such accounts (figure 11). Unusual for its use of a direct allegorical personification, it depicts Britannia leaning towards an emaciated mother and her children. The iconography draws from classical depictions of Britain’s allegorical figure as a mother. The figure of Britannia is historically associated with patriotism, and as Marina Warner observes, Britannia’s primary concern was the British constitution.³⁵¹ Her presence nationalises moral authority and can be interpreted as a reminder of British law, and its duty to protect the people against abusers of power. Appearing to both aid and protect the Belgian mother and her children, the figure of Britannia appeals to patriotic citizenship in terms of the moral duty of the British public to protect Belgian civilians. The text imploringly states ‘They Must Not Starve’. By expressing the travesty of Germany’s actions in ever more human terms, Hassall’s image reinforces Britain’s moral stance. Although the NCRB was not entirely organised by the government, it would certainly have been welcomed, supplementing as it did, the government’s efforts to secure the support of the nation. The anger of the British people at exaggerated stories of German behaviour in Belgium was a genuine and motivating force. In the early days of the war, the propaganda produced by public and private concerns, and the work of relief charities kept this indignation at boiling point and gave citizens that could not enlist a role to play in national resistance to the alleged German tyrants.

350 G.K. Chesterton, ‘The Blow from Hell’, Leaflet produced by National Committee for Relief in Belgium (1915), Imperial War Museum, uncatalogued.

351 M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Random House, 1996 [1985]), p. 56.

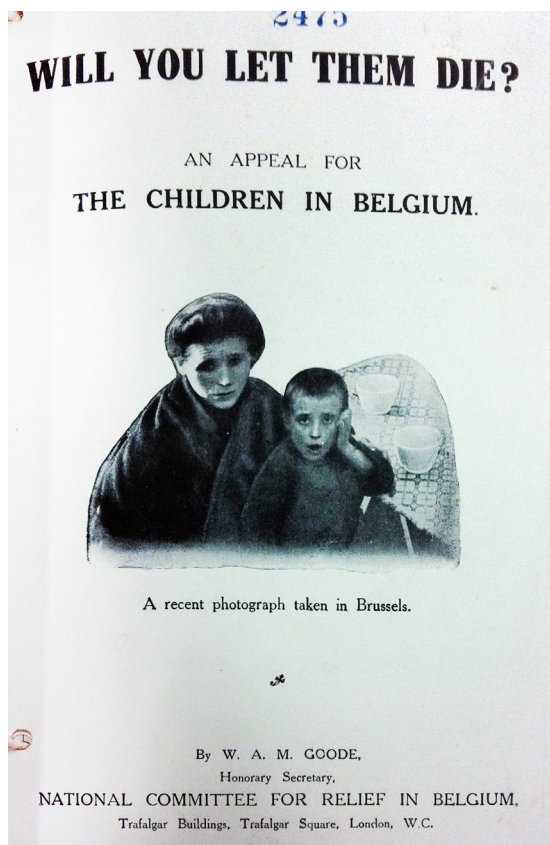


Fig. 10: W.A.M. Goode (1916), Leaflet produced by National Committee for Relief in Belgium, 'Will You Let Them Die?', Imperial War Museum, uncatalogued.



Fig. 11: J. Hassall (1916), 'They Must Not Starve', IWM PST 10914.

Condemnation of German behaviour in Belgium was made official by the Bryce Report published on May 12th 1915. Named after Viscount James Bryce, chair of the Government sanctioned Committee on Alleged German Atrocities, the report legitimised press accounts of outrageous treatment of the Belgian population. The stories painted in Bryce's findings are horrific, and unsubstantiated, as would be revealed by further investigation. Historians have since refuted the claims made by the report, accusing it of casting authentication over rumours in an official, pseudo-academic document with no consideration of accuracy.³⁵² Nonetheless, the groundwork for cultural dehumanisation of the Germans had

352 See Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities and* Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium*.

been laid. Historiography of the First World War has attached importance to dominant representations in which the hatred of the enemy took precedence.³⁵³ This method of representation necessitated the cultural, moral and ideological commitment of Britain to fight an apparently uncivilised and dehumanised enemy. Lord Bryce's reputation as a scholar added further weight to his report. Bryce's other wartime role was to act as chair for the NCRB. Notable members of government, or persons working with the government during the First World War often sat on the boards of charities. It was an effective way for interested parties to channel government policy and have a degree of control, particularly at a local level in an official but seemingly not political way.

An independently published poster from 1915 designed by David Wilson plays on the notion of the German 'other' as a savage, uncivilised enemy capable of devastating war crimes (figure 12). As Steffan Breundel explains, in societies at war, depictions of oneself and images of the enemy play a crucial role in defining difference.³⁵⁴ The enemy is the contrasting image against which the viewer pictures him or herself. In Wilson's poster, the German soldier is presented as primitive and 'ape-like' trading on anti-evolutionary rhetoric and repudiating any connection with the British and their common Anglo-Saxon heritage. Bryce lamented the Germans who constituted a 'reversion to the ancient methods of savagery' and 'a challenge to civilised mankind'.³⁵⁵ His words are reinforced by the German soldier presented lumbering across the bodies of murdered Belgians. The exposed breast of the civilian woman alludes to reports on atrocities towards females in a similar though much more direct way than the Belgian Red Cross poster. For all the anti-German rhetoric, the poster, printed by David Allen and Sons is highly unusual in presenting such an explicit image of German aggression. This type of visual propaganda, though frequent

353 See Gullace 'Sexual Violence and Family honour: British Propaganda and International Law During the First World War' and Purseigle, *A Wave Unto Our Shores*, p. 428.

354 S. Breundel, 'Othering/Atrocity Propaganda' in *1914-1918 online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by U. Daniel, P. Gatrell, O. Janz, H. Jones, J. Keene, A. Kramer, and B. Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin (August, 2014) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.15463/ie1418.10397>> [accessed 13/01/2015].

355 Lord Bryce (1915) quoted in Gullace, 'Barbaric Anti-Modernism', p. 68.

This chapter has highlighted the inter-dependence of the propaganda machine between public and private concerns. The synergy between the rhetorical frameworks employed in the war publicity of government departments and independent charities, and the presentation of the German invasion of Belgium in the press, set up a discourse in which the population was coaxed rather than persuaded into supporting British foreign policy. In this discourse, appeals to national loyalty addressed individuals as dutiful and patriotic, constructing the viewer as a self-sacrificing citizen for whom support for the war was a natural response. Moreover, by placing an emphasis on gendered representations of domestic safety, the meaning of war could be explained in humanitarian terms. Though accounts of atrocities were oversimplified and exaggerated, the accuracy of such iconographies was not questioned.

Much of the imagery examined in this chapter draws meaning from wider war aims and agendas that were reinforced by already existing discourses of paranoia and anti-German rhetoric. As the next chapter will demonstrate, meanings about the war were frequently communicated to the public by drawing on pre-existing social and cultural constructs. Interpreting war publicity poses a challenge because it cannot be studied in the surroundings in which it appeared, nor can we today bear witness to them in an immediate way. In his study of the mass advertisement, Roland Marchand has identified the issue of whether or not the content mirrors the values of the viewer or the values of the advertiser.³⁵⁶ There was no measuring instrument of effectiveness for war publicity during the First World War. However, the conspicuous uniformity across images released by government sources and charities, and the wide dissemination of such iconographies is remarkably telling of the techniques employed to coax the public into supporting British involvement in the war. On fundamentally humanitarian terms, war publicity relating to the invasion of Belgium bolstered the needs of the British propaganda machine to justify intervention against an apparently pitiless tyrant.

356 R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. xvi.

A genial soldier in uniform drawn by Caffyn for the PRC depicts an image of the British man that remained constant throughout the country's recruiting campaigns (figure 1).³⁵⁷ He is plucky, cheery, and happy to be serving his country. The accompanying text, imploring, 'Come Along Boys and Join the Army', and 'Our Cheery Lads Need Your Help' is suggestive of the camaraderie and fellowship that awaits the potential viewer-recruit should he heed the poster's message. With spirited determination, the imagined figure strides towards war. The poster's appeal to all male conviviality crosses class boundaries. Through answering the call of duty, the man in *Our Cheery Lads Need Your Help*, and in numerous other images of British men in pictorial publicity is exhibiting characteristics that dominated cultural representations of young British masculinity in early twentieth century discourse on 'manliness'. If he is in a tight spot, he will show courage. If he faces a serious challenge, he will rise to it with resolve. Although he is pictured alone, the anticipation of joining a like-minded group of men to participate in collective action for the nation is present in his determined stride, and in the accompanying text. As a good citizen he will answer the call for aid and join the 'cheery lads' at the front. As this chapter will argue, the discourse of participation was central to pictorial publicity aimed at men. In line with other campaigns that encourage civilian participation in war-related activities, material aimed specifically at male participation focused on the collective need. Yet, because appeals to men to join the army required a much larger commitment than efforts encouraged by campaigns aimed at civilians, examples of print media aimed at men also specifically focused on making the notion of joining the army appealing through pre-established tropes such as adventure and imperialism. This thesis has devoted a chapter to the construction of masculinity in pictorial

357 With 92,000 copies produced for distribution by the PRC and a re-release, Caffyn's was one of the more popular posters of the First World War. TNA, 'Parliamentary Recruitment Committee: Report on the Work of the Committee' (1915-16), WO 106/367.



Fig. 1: W. H. Caffyn (1914), 'Our Cheery Lads Need Your Help', IWM PST 11446.

publicity because the citizen-soldier identity is central to appeals to patriotic citizenship. His sacrifice is the model of good citizenship against which civilian sacrifice and participation was measured in pictorial publicity.

The images that will be analysed in this chapter represent a moment before conscription was introduced when the success of raising an army large enough to guarantee British success in the war rested on advertisers' ability to establish visual tropes that would capture the imagination of British men. This was new territory for producers of pictorial publicity. In the commodity culture of the late nineteenth century women were viewed as the target consumer for advertisers. Appeals to men were not as established as those to the female market. In early twentieth century advertising jargon an 'advertising man' was a person who created advertisements and an 'advertising woman' was the person who consumed them.³⁵⁸ This was primarily a result of the types of products that were advertised; usually

358 R. Marchand, *Advertising and the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 162.

household items, food and drink, cosmetics and toiletries and luxury goods. Advertising that was marketed towards, or that featured men, usually construed the male as a soldier or sailor figure, or as a gentleman pictured in the context of middle-class leisure. Therefore, when war broke out, advertisers looked towards popular constructions of masculinity imagined and encouraged through education, literature and boys' magazines to establish visual tropes that would encourage male support for British war aims.

This chapter will analyse dominant representations of masculinity in recruiting posters, official war campaigns such as war bonds and savings, and commercial advertising to analyse how pictorial publicity garnered specifically male support and to establish how the notion of a male citizen-soldier identity was promoted through pictorial publicity. This body brings together a complex set of multiform meanings through issues raised by the material. It aims to consider how producers of pictorial publicity used discourses focused around adventure, participation, collective effort and duty to solicit and maintain male support for the war. The issues that are raised through such queries are complex and bear important implications for the analysis of how representations of masculinity and manliness were appropriated for use in war publicity between 1914 and 1918. It is important therefore to establish a framework of literature that has influenced my approach to this body of material.

LITERATURE SURVEY

Over the past two decades, the study of masculinity has been subject to a sharp increase in popularity amongst historical scholars. Such works examine several areas of masculinity within the context of the public school³⁵⁹ and boys' organisations,³⁶⁰ the empire and

359 This work was pioneered by David Newsome in *D. Newsome Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: J Murray, 1961). Other useful studies into masculinity and the public school in the pre-war period are J.A Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); P. Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and Public School Ethos* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2000 [1987]).

360 K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); R. H. Macdonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

imperialism,³⁶¹ domesticity,³⁶² adventure fiction³⁶³ and the male body³⁶⁴ amongst others. Yet, as with other areas of this thesis, dominant representations of masculinity within the context of the First World War is a subject that is woefully under represented by the current literature. Studies tend to focus on Victorian notions of manliness or on post-war masculinity. Joanna Bourke, whose pioneering work on the male body and the First World War is one of the few works to focus on masculinity and maleness within the context of the First World War suggests that this is a direct result of the way that the war has developed as a specialist area of study within the historical discipline.³⁶⁵ Putting aside laying blame on the conventional 'military history' approach, the neglect of masculinity in First World War scholarly work can be attributed to the way that it has developed as two distinct strands of literary scholars and economic scholars.³⁶⁶ Jessica Meyer observes that literature on the authority of the man who experienced war has taken precedent at the expense of alternative readings of gender during the period.³⁶⁷ Two subjects that recur time and again within those studies that do focus on masculinity during the this period is the impact of the war on the male body and notions of masculinity within the context of modernism.

361 J. Mackenzie, 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times' in Mangan and Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality*, pp. 176-198; J. Mackenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

362 John Tosh's work on domesticity and Victorian masculinity has been especially useful for gaining an overall picture of how notions of masculinity and manliness were lived out in the pre-war period See J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007); J. Tosh, 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle-Class. The Family of Edward White Benson' in Tosh and Roper (eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (New York: Routledge, 1991) and J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longmann, 2005) and for his openness in how historians can approach masculinity as a sub-discipline see J. Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain', *History Workshop*, 38 (1994), pp. 179-202. For further reading on domesticity and masculinity see J. Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1994) and D. Vincent, 'Love and Death and the Nineteenth Century Working-Class', *Social History*, 5.2 (May, 1980), pp. 223-247.

363 J. Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventure in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991); G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

364 J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999 [1996]); A. Carden Coyne, *Reconstructing the body: Classicism, Modernism and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

365 J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 12.

366 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 12.

367 J. Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 2.

As discussed in the following chapter, both the cultural representation and the experience of the male body reached crisis point between 1914 and 1918 as the scale of technological destruction reached unfathomable heights. The visible and invisible after-effects of violence on those men fortunate enough to return from war has imprinted itself onto our cultural memory of the period. This is in part attributable to the influence of key texts such as Eric Leed's 1979 study into the influence of combat on identity in wartime. Leed argued that the male experience of war was dehumanising and resulted in fundamental changes in character for those that experienced life in the trenches. For Leed, the male experience was one of estrangement, as the familiar was defamiliarised in the alien landscape of the front. He argues that pre-war ideals of chivalry, heroism and self-sacrifice were disrupted in the face of technological slaughter and as a result, the soldier rejected civilian society. More recently, images of the soldier as a victimised shell unable to reunite with society have been challenged. Studies have observed how many combatants retained close ties with the home and the family. According to Helen McCartney soldiers turned to the 'traditional and familiar' to survive the war.³⁶⁸ They retained strong links with their civilian identities through letters to families and home leave.³⁶⁹ This enabled soldiers to retain identities within a culturally and socially familiar context. Such findings are in line with the arguments made both in this chapter and elsewhere in this study in relation to other campaigns. Appeals to pre-war ideals of chivalry and sacrifice, though present, were ultimately superseded by the depiction of more common, everyday and familiar imagery. Campaigns aimed at men stressed commonality, camaraderie and a sense of common purpose.

Undoubtedly, the culturally constructed identity of soldiers was one of the most powerful images established during the war. Sarah Cole assesses the centrality of masculine friendship to the literary imagination of wartime Britain, concluding that it was not the romanticised notion of the dying soldier that captured literary imagination, but the disfigured returning

368 H. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 3.

369 McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, p. 3.

fighter that ultimately came to represent modernist hero discourse.³⁷⁰ Drawing on Paul Fussell, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar before her, considerations of modernism are central to Cole's analysis.³⁷¹ Yet unlike Fussell, she does not view the war as a clear watershed that fundamentally altered cultural and literary experience. Instead, through looking at the writings of 'threshold modernists' including Joseph Conrad, D. H. Lawrence and Forster, she argues that there is no clear line or easy understanding of how the war affected change and development in the literary and cultural politics of the period.³⁷² Drawing on the work of Cole and McCartney it is clear that more recent scholars observe a sense of continuity rather than change emerging from the First World War. This is in line with the arguments put forth in this chapter which examines how First World War pictorial publicity aimed at men drew on the culturally and socially familiar. Where the soldier is represented, notions of self-sacrifice and nationhood are mediated through the family. Overwhelmingly imagery focuses on the positive attributes of adventure, camaraderie and friendship. This also links with arguments put forth in chapter five, which demonstrates how rehabilitation imagery of war-wounded soldiers focused on overcoming disability and reintegrating with society.

Given the dearth of literature on specifically First World War masculinity, the work of scholars who consider representations of masculinity and manliness within the context of the nineteenth century has been useful for evaluating how such representations have informed the visual narratives present in war publicity. With few pre-established ideas about how to appeal to men, image makers overwhelmingly drew on nineteenth century constructions of masculinity and manliness to convince men to support the war effort. John Tosh has written extensively on masculinity in nineteenth century Britain observing it to be a period increasingly characterised by sharp distinctions in categories of gender and sexuality. He observes a shift during this period between the 'earnest, expressive' variant of

370 S. Cole, *Modernism, Male Friendship and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

371 P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London, Oxford University Press, 1975); S. Gilbert and S. Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century, Volume II: Sexchanges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

372 Cole, *Modernism, Male Friendship and the First World War*.

masculinity characterised by the expressive manliness of the Evangelicals to the ‘stiff upper lip’ style of manliness of Baden-Powell and Kitchener’s era, leading to the type of cultural representations of manliness expressed in the popular literature of the late nineteenth century.³⁷³ It was the latter that would influence much of the pictorial publicity discussed in this chapter. Case studies of this period observe how masculine identities drew on a range of cultural forms. Graham Dawson’s work on adventure and the imagining of masculinity explores the cultural image of the ‘soldier hero’, linking such narratives with nationhood in Britain.³⁷⁴ Similar work has been carried out by Joseph Bristow who analyses representations of late Victorian masculinity in adventure fiction and Kelly Boyd who focuses her research on *Boys Own Papers*.³⁷⁵ It is within this literature that this chapter is situated. Unlike Meyer, Cole and Bourke it does not seek to establish the lived experience of masculinity during the First World War, rather it seeks to explore how pictorial publicity established and drew on pre-established codes of manliness to promote British war aims. It examines how producers of pictorial publicity targeted appeals towards men, and the repertoire of cultural forms they made use of to ensure the message was delivered. In doing so it will contribute to knowledge about how masculinity was culturally structured within the public sphere.

THE VISUAL LANGUAGE OF ADVENTURE

The story of British soldiers and their representation in First World War publicity begins with the story of British boys. As Graham Dawson has noted, masculinities are lived out in the body, but shaped by the imagination.³⁷⁶ For boys growing up in the pre-war years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, masculinity was shaped by notions of masculine heroism and adventure promoted amongst youths through the novels of G.A. Henty and Rudyard Kipling and periodicals such as the *Boys Own Paper*. Imprinting distinct qualities of manhood such as rescue, travel, survival and heroism onto boys from

373 J. Tosh, ‘What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain’ in *History Workshop*, No. 38 (1994), pp. 179-202, p. 181.

374 G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Oxon: Routledge, 1994).

375 J. Bristow, *Empire Boys*; K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys Story Paper in Britain*.

376 G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 1.

an early age, they provided a glamorous picture of a masculinity shaped by militarism. By the time war broke out in 1914, over 40% of British male adolescents belonged to some kind of youth group including the Boy Scouts and the Boys Brigade - many of which were paramilitary in nature.³⁷⁷ Among the imaginings that shaped and directed the lives of those men that fought between 1914 and 1918 was the image of the adventurous soldier hero. Popular representations of masculinity during the First World War drew on traditions that equated combat with virility and manly adventure.³⁷⁸

JG Cawelti argues that through reading literary stories, audiences can encounter the excitement of adventure without facing the feelings of anxiety that are caused by the real experience of adventure.³⁷⁹ British war publicity aimed at potential or actual soldiers occupies a space between real adventure, and popular imaginings of adventure. The imagery followed the common narrative structure that Northrop Frye argues underlies popular adventure stories. There is a 'quest', and a 'perilous journey' as the potential recruit will endeavour to travel to foreign lands to defeat an enemy.³⁸⁰ There will be a 'crucial struggle' that will see an apparently morally upright British take on a demonised Germany. Lastly, there is a recognition of the potential soldier as a hero, this role will be occupied by the viewer who is able to insert himself into the image by drawing identity from what he recognises of himself, both materially and imaginatively.³⁸¹ As Dawson observes, the key feature of the adventure quest is the risk factor.³⁸² The risk needs to be sufficiently dangerous to provide an adequate challenge, but not so dangerous that defeat seems inevitable. For

377 G. J. De Groot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 38-9.

378 S.K. Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 9.

379 J. G. Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 16.

380 Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 189.

381 This is what Michael Taussig identifies as 'mimesis'. He argues that in the act of recognition, the image has an effect upon the viewer, and consequently is given life by the represented. Thus, if a working class man recognises himself in an image of an adventurous, heroic soldier, the image is more likely to resonate with his interests and achieve the desired effect of the image maker. See M. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. xiii.

382 Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 53.

potential soldiers, war publicity provides balance. The reality of fighting in the First World War is arguably too dangerous to be deemed adventurous. Visual publicity glamourised war to counter the scale of the risk with excitement. For Frye, adventure is a mode of romance that is tied to wish fulfilling fantasies.³⁸³ War publicity pictured the fantasy element of risky adventure. Not through allegorical means, but through imagery that related to men in the early twentieth century.

Two discourses of adventure dominate in print media aimed at men. The first focuses on glamourising the notion of imperial adventure. Mangan observes that in the later half of the nineteenth century, imperialism redefined manliness by means of a 'cultural conveyor-belt'.³⁸⁴ Pointing towards the influential public school system, team sports such as cricket and rugby, and the influence of militarism as the tools of imperial manliness, Mangan suggests that a new type of masculinity was constructed which viewed war as essential to the demonstration of manliness and the ultimate fulfillment of Britain's national destiny.³⁸⁵ John McKenzie has made a similar case for the dominance of the imperial soldier from the 1870s. He argues that the late Victorian and early Edwardian period was an era of fascination with historic heroes which translated into the creation of contemporary imperial heroic figures.³⁸⁶ As this chapter will discuss, in pictorial publicity, imperial heroes such as Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts converged with such pre-established ideas about imperial masculinity to implore men to join the army.

More frequent was the second discourse of adventurous camaraderie and group bonding. John Tosh has argued that from the 1870s, masculinity experienced what he terms the 'flight from domesticity'. Concerned with emerging forms of female authority and wearied of the promulgation of domestic pleasures, increasing numbers of men were rejecting or

383 Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism*, p. 192.

384 J.A. Mangan, 'Manufactured Masculinity': *Making Imperial Manliness, Morality and Militarism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p.3.

385 Ibid, pp. 3-8.

386 J. M. MacKenzie, 'Heroic Myths of Empire' in J. M. Mackenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military: 1850-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 111.

postponing marriage. Instead they chose to find satisfaction within groups of like-minded men in homosocial institutions such as clubs, team sports or the military. Such developments converge in what Bradley Deane has recently termed ‘hegemonic masculinity’.³⁸⁷ Drawing on the work of sociologist Raewyn Connell who uses ‘hegemonic masculinity’ to describe society’s dominant construct of masculinity at any given time, Deane argues that in the four decades preceding the First World War, the hegemonic masculinity was militaristic.³⁸⁸ He observes that although before the war, very few Victorian or Edwardian men had experienced life in the army, popular male audiences found the notion of military life to be compelling.³⁸⁹ It is worth noting that this study does not suggest that the two discourses of imperial masculinity and adventurous camaraderie constituted all masculine values during the First World War. Rather it argues that pictorial publicity converged on such discourses to appeal to a male audience who during this period may have been particularly receptive to such values.

For discourses of masculinity featured in pictorial publicity to work in engaging a male audience, it was necessary that it had a wide appeal. Developments in the printing industries had produced new readerships. Mass produced fictional books and weekly periodicals influenced ideas about the importance of character, patriotism, duty, and the excitement of adventure into the minds of those that would eventually fight for Britain in the First World War. Virginia Postrel identifies such fantastical characteristics as signifiers of ‘glamour’.³⁹⁰ For Postrel, glamour emerges through the interaction between object and audience, it is therefore only successful if the image resonates with the audiences’ aspirations.³⁹¹ In pictorial publicity aimed at men, ‘glamour’ was expressed through the concepts of adventure, national community, comradeship, duty, place and service. The Edwardian period had been

387 B. Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 6-7.

388 R. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]), p. 76; B. Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 6-7.

389 B. Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 7.

390 V. Postrel, *Longing and the Art of Visual Persuasion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

391 Postrel, *Longing and the Art of Visual Persuasion*, p. 12.

considered a decadent society in which men had become soft and effeminate.³⁹² Recruiting posters such as Ibbetson's *At the Front*, which relied on imperialist imagery, fed on the aspirations of boyhood adventure-fantasy to promote the restoration of imperial glamour and masculinity (figure 2). Lisa Tickner has convincingly argued that numerous indicators pointed towards a crisis of masculinity that reached its zenith in England between 1905 and 1915. She observes that the outcome of the Boer Wars (1899-1902); reports of government commissions attesting to the general physical decline of the British population; a thirty per cent drop in birth between 1875 and 1910 and the growing economic prosperity and military strength of Germany in the face of physical and intellectual decline in Britain were thought to be the blame. For Tickner, the debate was informed by ideas drawn from social Darwinism, with eugenicists calling for 'manly' men and 'womanly' women to regenerate and revitalise the population of the empire.³⁹³ Thus, when war was declared, many saw it as an opportunity to redeem the nation's manhood. In H G Wells' *Mr Britling Sees It Through*, Britling immediately breaks off his romantic relationship because there is no room in his heart for 'any love but the love of England'. His love was now reserved for a 'nation of men'.³⁹⁴

The war offered men the chance to play out the childhood fantasies imagined in imperialistic culture, and imagery on some of the publicity suggests that an imperialist discourse worked to attract men into uniform. While at most times men do not willingly volunteer to join the army, in mid-Victorian Britain, it had a particularly poor reputation. As late as 1898 H.O. Foster, Secretary of State for War (1903-05) wrote: 'No tradition is more deeply rooted in the minds of the poorer classes... than that which represents enlistment as the last step in the downward career of a young man.'³⁹⁵ The living conditions were poor, the risks too high, and the monetary returns too low. Writing about the 'collapse of voluntary enlistment' in

392 L. Tickner, *Men's Work: Masculinity and Modernism* (Indiana: Bloomington, 1992), p.6.

393 L. Tickner, *Men's Work: Masculinity and Modernism* (Indiana: Bloomington, 1992), p.7. Elaine Showalter has also been influential in arguing that a 'masculine crisis' was experienced in the late-Victorian, early-Edwardian period. E. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy, Gender and Culture at the Fin-de-Siècle* (London: Virago, 1992), esp. pp. 9-13.

394 H. G. Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees it Through* (London: Cassell, 1917), p. 182.

395 H. O. Foster quoted in W.J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 6.

1876, an article in *The Star* quoted an anonymous commentator who suggested that ‘no civilised nation, I am satisfied, would tolerate for a single year the existence in its midst of such a barbarous military system as we possess.’³⁹⁶ The article goes on to deplore the living conditions in army barracks stating: ‘How can we refute and resent such damaging statements when an officer on active service desires the intervention of public opinion to make the married lodgings of the army not comfortable, cleanly, or healthy, but simply decent and human?’ In another 1876 article, Henry Richards, MP suggested that the very idea of volunteering one’s services to the army was a ‘miserable mania’.³⁹⁷ Such was the crisis of attracting men to the armed forces, that in 1876 an *Edinburgh Review* article suggested that compulsory militia service would be necessary.³⁹⁸ The article was taken seriously enough to warrant a flurry of responses from concerned commentators worried about the government’s response. The *Morning Post* noted that ‘the young militiaman who knows any trade or calling is precisely the man who generally takes care not to enlist into the line, as he can make a far better living in civil life.’³⁹⁹ On continental Europe, the army was made up of conscripted soldiers. By contrast, the British Army was smaller, and consisted of professional soldiers and volunteers. The notion of conscription was deeply opposed in Britain and would have been against the ideals of freedom that Britain claimed to be fighting for in the First World War.

In 1899, when the Anglo-Boer war broke out, for the first time since the Crimean War, Britain’s enemies were well equipped and organised, much more so than the general run of the British Empire’s opponents. Between 10th and 16th December 1899, British generals were defeated three times in the week that would become known as ‘Black Week’ and the shock to national self-esteem was immense.⁴⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the Anglo-Boer War was a popular war in comparison with previous nineteenth century conflicts, prompting a wave

396 Anon, *The Star*, 5 February 1876, p. 10.

397 H Richards, *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, February 04 1876, p. 3.

398 W R Mansfield, ‘Army Recruitment’ in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 143 (1876), pp. 36-72.

399 Anon, *Morning Post*, 20 February 1876, p. 4.

400 Reader, *At Duty’s Call*, pp. 10-11.

of 'jingoism' throughout Britain which manifested in patriotic parades and nationalist anthems. In this atmosphere, considerable numbers of civilian men began to show eagerness



Fig. 2: E. Ibbetson (1915), 'At the Front!', IWM PST 5111.

for active service.⁴⁰¹ By 1902, the Anglo-Boer War had lost some of its glamour as the media reported on British use of 'concentration camps'- the first use of the term - to hold women and children, yet it had resulted in a significant change of attitude amongst British men. Temporary military service was no longer an unpopular notion, rather, amongst the middle classes, it was viewed as admirable, and even glorious, to go to battle in the name of one's country. Coinciding with this, from the 1880s, adventure fiction in literature and boys magazines took on a new intensity to respond to the larger role of the state.⁴⁰² Adventure fiction was part of what W.J. Reader has termed the 'machinery' by which public opinion

401 Ibid.

402 J. Kestner, *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880-1915* (London: Ashgate, 2013), p. 97.

was manipulated.⁴⁰³ In a 1914 letter to *The Nation*, Bertrand Russell made reference to the ‘whole foul literature of glory’ writing:

‘Those who saw the London crowds, during the nights leading up to the Declaration of War, saw a population, hitherto peaceful and humane, precipitated in a few days down the steep slope to primitive barbarism...encouraged by a whole foul literature of ‘glory’, and by every text-book of history with which the minds of children are polluted.’⁴⁰⁴

In literature, school stories and picture books, ideas about war, patriotism and duty were fed into young minds, popularising a kind of masculinity that favoured a state of warfare. The masculinity was characterised by attributes of duty, camaraderie and heroism. A ‘real’ man would defend and, if necessary, die for his King and country.⁴⁰⁵ Yet what is interesting about



Fig. 3: Anon (1915), ‘Britain Needs You’, IWM PST 0418.



Fig. 4: Anon (n.d.), ‘Come Into the Ranks’, IWM PST 5150.

403 Reader, *At Duty's Call*, p. 18.

404 B. Russell, ‘The Rights of the War’ in *The Nation* (15 August 1914), pp. 737-8.

405 Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 1.

appeals to men in the First World War was the infrequency of very traditional patriotic and allegorical appeals to defence and duty. PRC poster number 108, *Britain Needs You At Once* is unusual in its reference to British mythology (figure 3). The image portrays St. George, in full plate armour on horseback, driving his lance into the body of a dragon and has more in common with images produced by the Central Powers than those in Britain. The Central Powers visual rhetoric often portrayed a mythic Germany through graphic iconographies of empire, history and landscape.⁴⁰⁶ In Britain, the advertising trade was more developed, and romantic notions of national identity were usually sidelined for a more persuasive realism. Posters such as *Come into the Ranks and Fight* appeals to a real, collective need by playing on notions of national duty, comradeship and dedication to a common cause, often embodied in friends – or one’s fellow recruits, and family – the wives and mothers who send men to war (figure 4).

HEROIC MASCULINITY

Images of imperial masculine adventure most often featured in recruiting posters. Heroic masculinity is one of the most durable forms of idealised British masculinity and from the Scramble for Africa at the close of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War, Britain’s imperialist endeavours provided a tangible context for the boyhood imaginings of her men. Celebrated for their daring exploits, admired imperial heroes such as Henry Havelock, David Livingston, Lord Nelson and Lord Roberts amongst countless others contributed to heroic narratives that fed into nationalist discourse. The deeds of these men were invested with significance; almost all of them died in the act of service to their country, the ultimate examples of self-sacrifice fusing military endeavour, patriotism and the virtues of manhood. Within this, the soldier became the quintessential figure of masculinity, embodying the national character in its noblest form, and wartime advertisers were quick to use this to their advantage.

406 J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction: First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 169.

In earlier examples of recruiting posters such as Alfred Leete's *Kitchener Wants You!* and Bassano's *He Did his Duty. Will You do Yours?* adventure imagery was led by an imperialist/nationalist rhetoric that had strong links with popular culture and national heroes (figures 5 and 6). The pictorial representation of Kitchener draws similarities with the representation



Fig. 5: A. Leete (1914), 'Kitchener Wants You', IWM PST 2734.

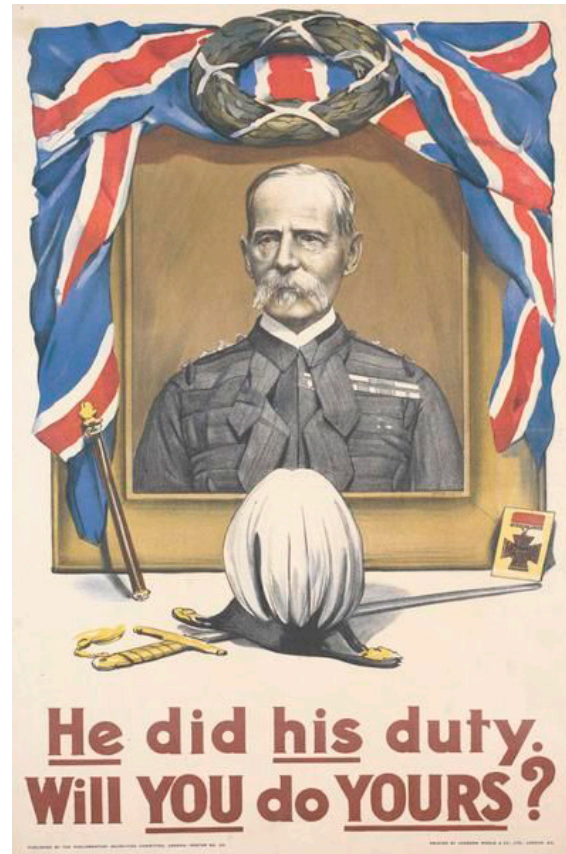


Fig. 6: After Bassano (1915), 'He Did His Duty', IWM PST 11424.

of his character in popular literary works. In G.A. Henty's novel about Kitchener's role in securing British control of Sudan, Kitchener is constructed as the omniscient visionary, an image that became central to his portrayal in the recruitment campaign.⁴⁰⁷ Henty, a prolific author of adolescent adventure-romances who, through his writing, typified many attitudes of late-Victorian England, was an avid imperialist. His novels usually followed a similar pattern; the protagonist, a boy hero placed into one of the Britain's outposts, makes up in

407 G.A. Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan. A Story of Atbara and Umdurman* (London, 1903).

pluck what he lacks in intelligence. He has an exciting time outfoxing the locals who put up little resistance to him, and finally, fulfills his mission.⁴⁰⁸ On Kitchener, Henty writes:

‘[Kitchener] knew the exact position of every one of the units between Cairo and himself, and from every station he received messages constantly and despatched his orders as frequently. There was no hitch whatsoever. The arrangements were so perfect that the vast machine, with its numerous parts, moved with the precision of clockwork.’⁴⁰⁹

In *Kitchener Wants You!*, the image of Kitchener draws parallels with Henty’s description, which renders him as a disembodied character capable of observing and controlling the movements of soldier and civilian bodies (figure 5). In this manner, Leete has rendered Kitchener’s image in the style of a German object poster and translated his representation into the language of state of the art advertising, a point emphasised by the use of finger pointing and direct address. The rhetoric of adventure is implied in the use of an imperial hero, but the familiar iconography is absent. The project of an old order has been subverted by the formal qualities of the poster itself. Kitchener’s stony stare only further emphasises his imagined character. While Nicholas Hiley has convincingly argued that the Kitchener poster was not as popular or influential as many propaganda historians would have us believe, the fact that the PRC used his image speaks about the types of imagery that they thought would attract men to the army.⁴¹⁰ Kitchener, alongside Lord Roberts was the British adventurer made famous in fictional tales come to life. For the young men targeted by such imagery, these icons would have served as boyhood heroes, furnishing fantasies of adventure, and to justify the pursuit of war.⁴¹¹

408 *With Roberts to Pretoria* exemplifies this storyline. G. A. Henty, *With Roberts to Pretoria. A Tale of the South African War* (London, 1902).

409 G. A. Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan* [sic]: *A Story of Atbara and Omdurman* (ebook: Project Gutenberg, 2006 [1903]).

410 N. Hiley, ‘Kitchener Wants You and Daddy What Did You Do in the Great War?: The Myth of British Recruiting Posters’, *Imperial War Museum Review*, 11, pp. 40-58.

411 Notably, Joanna Bourke omits a discussion of imperial icons from her study into wartime masculinity due to a lack of evidence. She explains that her research is largely drawn from the diaries and letters of servicemen, and they did not refer to such icons, concluding that the study of mens bodies through

Ernest Ibbetson's *At The Front* is more traditional in its use of the iconography of adventure and imperialism to exemplify military qualities such as courage, adventure, strength and endurance (figure 2). It draws comparison with popular Royal Academy art of the late nineteenth century. Bordered by a military green background, the image depicts a horse-drawn field artillery team advancing under artillery fire. There is a sense of movement and excitement about the image, as the horses rear up in the face of explosions. The monotonous reality of trench warfare is put aside in favour of the more dramatic fantasy conjured by cavalry fighting. Adventure is often associated with an exciting or daring experience in which the outcome is unknown. Fundamental to adventure is the paradox between risk and control. This has led Graham Dawson to argue that in its modern sense, adventure is a balance between anxiety and desire.⁴¹² This tension between anxiety and desire is intrinsic to the experience of adventure, and notably to the anticipation of adventure. This works for Ibbetson's image which strikes a balance between perilous danger and the excitement of warfare. As the soldiers are under fire, there is an anticipation that the men depicted in the image are in serious danger, yet by picturing the soldiers uninjured and strong the danger errs on the side of exciting rather than threatening.

CAMARADERIE AND GROUP-BONDING

Recruiting posters in particular made use of the image of an idealised male citizen to create an image of life in the army that was exciting and adventurous. A life in which one could play out patriotic fantasy alongside pals. John Hassall's *Hurry Up! Boys* (see figure 7) depends on cheerful invocations about group loyalty to persuade potential recruits to join the British army. In Hassall's *Hurry Up Boys*, a young man is pictured with his rifle in hand. He kneels, cheerily waving his cap, amidst the remains of battle, including artillery shells and German Pickelhaube helmets. His apparent joy is indicated by the glimpse of a pair of dead soldier's feet, barely visible behind the mound of dirt and debris. Aimed at ex-

such icons would require a different set of sources. It is therefore important to note that the PRC may well have been missing the mark in their use of icons to attract men to the army.

412 Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 19.

public school recruits, this image might have had a particular appeal to a middle-class male audience. The construction of the image is remarkably similar to illustrations



Fig. 7: J. Hassall (n.d.), 'Hurry Up Boys!'; IWM PST 0332.



Fig. 8: G. A. Henty (1885), 'True to the Old Flag', book cover.

printed on the cover of G.A. Henty's novels (figure 8). A man, pictured alone stands tall and victorious over his enemy. Mirroring rhetoric found within Henty's stories, implicit within such imagery is a notion of individual heroic bravery. John Tosh has noted that in the late nineteenth century, public school boys were well trained in the homosocial life of group sports and team loyalty.⁴¹³ Although Tosh's analysis is not focused on the Edwardian period it is still suggestive of the immense significance of war service for men at the end of the nineteenth century in the negotiation of manhood. Soldiering was arguably the culmination of preparations in adventure and public service that their schooling had prepared them for, and that popular culture had informed them was a worthy and manly

413 J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 177.

lifestyle. The intended audience for such images are young middle-class men, who for the first time in Britain would not necessarily be expected to join the officer classes, but the ranks of ordinary soldiers.⁴¹⁴ The imagery expresses age appropriate masculinity. In the earlier stages of war the men that joined the ranks of the British army were overwhelmingly young and unmarried. It is these men to whom the PRC were appealing, and arguably these men who would be most susceptible to an advertising campaign that espoused visions of adventurous fantasy to appeal to the masculine market.

While male heroes such as Kitchener and Lord Roberts had provided the PRC with ‘celebrity’ poster men that could play on desire for adventure, such visual tropes lacked democratic appeal. As George Mosse has stated, although the quest for adventure must not be forgotten in an analysis of voluntary enlistment, for many, the war experience was constructed upon a longing for camaraderie.⁴¹⁵ The sense of belonging to a group of men with a common goal and of bonding through manly interaction was central to the construct of many recruiting posters and these images were reiterated across commercial and charitable advertising. In a poster designed to promote Irish recruitment, men were implored to ‘Come And Join This Happy Throng’ (figure 9). The image, unusual for its use of photography, shows a group of smiling soldiers, stretching seemingly forever, out of the viewer’s line of sight. Holding caps aloft, and clothed in identical military garb, there is a sense of belonging in the image. The men are part of a larger entity, and if the viewer is not with them, he is alone. At the bottom of the image, the text explains that the men pictured are ‘off to the front’, lending a sense of adventure and anticipation to the image that is held up by the expression on the their faces. In *Jump Aboard* the viewer is invited to take part in comradely enthusiasm (figure 10). In the forefront of the image, an older man waves the recruits off to war, imbuing the image with a sense of masculine approval. The train dominates the image, reinforcing a sense of modern war. Going to war might have been the first experience of going abroad for working-class men, and the spectacle of modern travel contributes to a sense that joining the army is glamorous and adventurous. In both of these posters, there is a sense of pride

414 P. Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p.118.

415 G. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 158.

in the aesthetic qualities of the men as a group. They are bonded together, the individual views his identity as an integral part of an all-male group. In the 1915 PRC poster *There is Still a Place in the Line for You, Will you Fill it?* the line of soldiers is disturbed only by the presence of an actual space for the viewer to fill (figure 11). As in *Come and Join this Happy Throng*, the men stretch out beyond the reach of the viewer's eye, going beyond the border of the poster, implying a sense of isolation for those men that are not a part of this group (figure 9). Aesthetic pride in the male group as an identical whole is implied through the bodily positioning of the men and their uniform. The individual viewer is invited to merge with the group, to share in their adventure and experience, and take his seemingly natural place within the armed forces.

For Bourke, male bonding was an essential component in the social construction of masculinity during the First World War.⁴¹⁶ Using evidence supplied by letters, diaries and oral histories of members of the British army, she argues that male bonding was not an inevitable, organic happening, but that it was in the interests of the military authorities to foster in servicemen a sense of group solidarity and a merging of individual identity with that of the group.⁴¹⁷ According to the picture of group bonding expressed in PRC posters, the war allowed men to participate in a shared effort; social difference is erased. This is especially evident in *Step into Your Place* (figure 12). The image displays a diversity of male workers, ranging from a labourer with a pickaxe to a businessman or clerk with a briefcase to a barrister in full finery, who are transformed into soldiers in uniform as they 'step into their place'. Again, they are visually bound together through the soldier's uniform. The image suggests that class difference is eliminated once the male becomes part of the national cause. The line of men gradually extends towards the word 'place', the viewers 'place' in the British class system is not as relevant as his 'place' as a British soldier. Onwards and upwards, the line of men extends to a future apparently devoid of society-defined labels. While drawing on similar rhetoric about the eradication of class in the military, *Come Lad Slip Across and Help* emphasises a joining of hands across nations (figure 13). The civilian

416 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 127.

417 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 101.



Fig. 9: Anon (n.d.), 'Off to the Front' , IWM PST 13604.

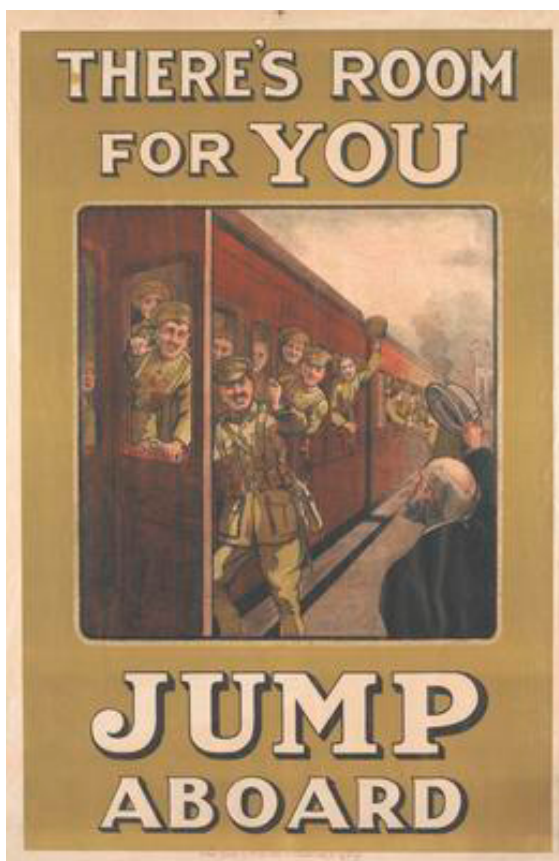


Fig. 10: After W. A. Fry (1915), 'Jump Aboard', IWM PST 5255.

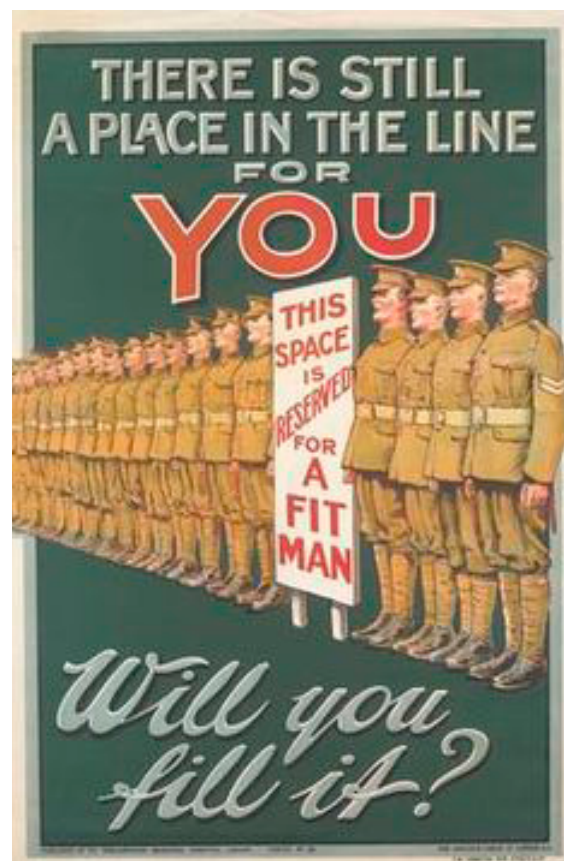


Fig. 11: Anon (1915), 'Will You Fill It?', IWM PST 11509.



Fig. 12: Anon (1915), 'Step Into Your Place', IWM PST 0318.



Fig. 13: Anon (1915), 'Come Lad', IWM PST 5070.

man, pictured in the working class attire of a flat cap is offered a hand by a middle-class officer.

Drawing on his own experiences of soldiering in the Second World War, Military historian William McNeill (1995) has suggested that aspects of military life, such as daily drill, created such a lively esprit de corps, that past social ties such as class faded to insignificance amongst troops.⁴¹⁸ Along similar lines, in 1919, Robert Baden-Powell, Lieutenant-General in the British Army and founder of the Boy Scouts, somewhat optimistically suggested that:

‘Class boundary is an entirely artificial erection, and can, therefore, be pulled down if we only set our minds to it... Indeed, the war has almost done the trick for us with its conscription of all, rich and poor without distinction, with its common sharing of hardship and danger, and its common sacrifice for a common ideal at the Front.’⁴¹⁹

A *Manchester Guardian* article similarly noted:

‘One of the most noticeable effects of the war on the men at the front is the way in which social and class divisions have been on many ways swept away. So noticeable has been this spirit of camaraderie that important changes may result from it once the war is over.’⁴²⁰

However, as Troy Boone explains, in contrast to the dissolution of class systems fantasised by Baden-Powell, recruitment schemes such as the Public Schools Brigade and the Pals Battalions which encouraged voluntary enlistment on the basis that men would serve

418 W.H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Massachusetts: University of Harvard Press, 1995).

419 R. Baden-Powell, *Scoutmastership: A Handbook for Scoutmasters on the Theory of Scout Training*, Reprint, (London: Forgotten Books, 2013 [1920]), p. 144-145.

420 Anon, ‘The Christmas Comfort Fund: The Sense of Comradeship’ in *Manchester Guardian* (9 December 1916), p. 4.

alongside their friends rather than strangers constituted a de facto segregation within the British Army, especially when coupled with the territorial separation of regiments.⁴²¹ Nonetheless, what is notable in the construction of manhood in pictorial publicity is that it implies a consciousness of masculinity as a binding trope. Though *Step Into Your Place* acknowledges class distinction, it is subordinated to masculine responsibility which in turn, through its emphasis on participation for the national cause, has been made a dominant feature of the discourse of patriotic citizenship espoused in pictorial publicity. As Aulich argues, the conditions of war enabled and encouraged the representation of previously under-recognised sections of society as advertisers sought to appeal to a wider market.⁴²² As such, the ideological subordination of class boundaries to participation and citizenship in the visual propaganda of war enabled advertisers to widen visual enfranchisement.

In the official rhetoric of the war put forward by members of government, official propagandists and civilian individuals and organisations, there could be no conflict between friendship and comradeship. However this kind of privileging of group identity over the individual was not new to the war, having permeated British culture and dominated the institutions of masculinities for many years before the war. From 1914, male bonding was presented in pictorial publicity as one of the foundations upon which the state rested. Recruiting posters and other forms of pictorial publicity used similar visual structures to show scenes of comradely enthusiasm. Against a sanitised background, men are pictured as happy and healthy, revelling in the camaraderie of their troop. The Weekly Dispatch Tobacco Fund illustrates 'Joy in the Trenches' as a group of lively soldiers receive a parcel of cigarettes from home (figure 14). The men share in opening and distributing the contents of the package in a scene of jovial familiarity and domesticity. Similarly, Decca implores the viewer to send a gramophone to the men at the front so that they might share in its 'morale boosting' properties (figure 15). Pictured in Egypt, a band of soldiers participate in

421 T. Boone, *Youth Of Darkest England: Working-Class Children At The Heart Of Victorian Empire* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), p. 158.

422 J. Aulich, 'Graphic Arts and Advertising as War Propaganda' in: *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by U. Daniel, P. Gatrell, O. Janz, H. Jones, J. Keene, A. Kramer, and B. Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08.



Fig. 14: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for the cigarette fund, IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 15: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Decca, IWM uncatalogued.

a moment of relaxation; sitting together in close quarters and leaning on one another in an expression of male affection. Bourke has argued that the alienation of men from each other is a common theme in the history of masculinity, however wartime experience allowed men to overthrow such inhibitions.⁴²³ In wartime, it was sufficient that men were pictured as soldiers; this accounted for their manliness and allowed personal contact and emotional interaction to be expressed in the form of male comradeship.

Further expressions of emotional interaction amongst male groupings took the form of what William McNeill has termed 'muscular expressions' of group solidarity.⁴²⁴ Recruiting posters such as *Step Into Your Place* (figure 12), *Line Up Boys!* (figure 16) and *Come Into the Ranks and Fight* (figure 17) are structured a round reproductions of military drill. In *Come Into the Ranks and Fight*, discussed earlier, military drill takes a literal form, as a troop of uniformed

423 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 21.

424 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, p. 92.



Fig. 16: Anon (1914), 'Line Up Boys', IWM PST 503.



Fig. 17: Anon (n.d.), 'Come Into the Ranks', IWM PST 5150.

soldiers march in a parade to an audience of onlookers. In *Line Up Boys!* and *Step Into Your Place*, drill is implied through the act of the men moving rhythmically in time together.

Drawing on his own experiences of being drafted into the United States army during the Second World War, historian William McNeil introduced the concept of 'muscular bonding' to refer to the kinds of affective or emotional experiences that are produced when groups of people move rhythmically in time together.⁴²⁵ Describing his experience of military drill he stated:

'Marching aimlessly about on the drill field, swaggering in conformity with prescribed military postures, conscious only of keeping in step so as to make the next move correctly and in time somehow felt good. Words are inadequate to describe the emotion aroused by the prolonged movement in unison that drilling

425 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, pp. 1-13.

involved. A sense of pervasive well-being is what I recall; more specifically, a strange sense of personal enlargement; a sort of swelling out, becoming bigger than life, thanks to participation in collective ritual.⁴²⁶

McNeill (1995) illustrates the way that a group of people can be bound together in a sense of cohesion experienced through the body. Picturing this type of movement, pictorial publicity is able to invite the male viewer to participate in the collective ritual of group bonding through joining the British Army. Figures 12, 16 and 17 show men stepping in time together, their legs moving rhythmically in unison. The posters appeal to the viewer is through collective ritual, if the potential recruit is not ‘in step’ with his masculine cohort, he is out of step, and therefore unable to participate in a cohesion of fellow feeling that with his countrymen. In the rite of physical training, the body is no longer experienced as an individual entity, but rather as a collective one. This is inculcated as an experience of ‘physical togetherness’ that can be achieved through the performance of military drill, producing a kind of ‘muscular bonding’. Ruth Finnegan has similarly observed how ‘the experience of working, marching, playing, loving or competing together “in sync” is a real one of human connectedness, even without an actual “touch” in the literal sense’.⁴²⁷ McNeill and Finnegan discuss the physical experience of participating in collective movement. However, while the images are still, a feeling of movement is present: as the men in the image move forward there is a potential for action that the viewer is invited to participate in through a process of kinaesthetic empathy. In all three images, the men are mid-stride, enhancing a feeling of anticipated movement. If you are not ‘in step’ you are out of step: left behind.

426 Ibid.

427 R. Finnegan, ‘Tactile Communication’ in C. Classen (ed.) *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 22.

THE DOMESTICATION OF THE WAR FRONT

In commercial advertising, masculine camaraderie was often pictured through a domestic framework. Sunlight Soap's *The CLEANEST Fighter in the World – The British Tommy* lauds the 'the clean chivalrous fighting instincts' of the British soldier (figure 18). The carefully illustrated image depicts two cheerful British women performing everyday domestic tasks against a background of soldiers marching to war. Clean fighting parallels rhetoric present in other advertising of the period and is akin to chivalry and bravery, whilst alluding to Germany's apparent misconduct in Belgium. Cleanliness is next to godliness, and therefore, moral right. The domestication of the image hints towards nostalgia for the home comforts



Fig. 18: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Sunlight Soap, IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 19: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Monkey Brand Soap, IWM uncatalogued.

that popular and trustworthy British brands could represent. As in charitable and official campaigns to encourage support for the war, particularly in relation to Belgium as discussed in chapter three, commercial advertisers make links between the family and the nation to promote the notion of a national community at war. To the contemporary viewer, it may appear that men's sacrifice and women's sacrifice was unequal; since, after all, it was the

men that risked death. Yet advertisements for Sunlight Soap create and rely on the sense that these sacrifices were ideologically equivalent. They equalise the war work of men and women by breaking down the public/private dichotomy on which the ideologies of war and the home rest. Elements of life that would previously have been private, such as doing one's laundry, become public events. In her study on women's writings about the First World War, Dorothy Goldman argues that women and men shared the war experience, in a way that they had not in previous wars, both in literal and ideological commitment.⁴²⁸

The picturing of English goods abroad, or in a conflict setting, allowed for the symbolic representation of the joys of the English home. When the war front is pictured, violence is rarely present. The very real possibility of death for the young men sent to fight is not as prevalent a notion as the horror of the physical discomforts that the men at the front must endure: cold, wet, hunger and poor hygiene. These are elements over which those at home can exert power. While potential death at the barrel of an enemy gun cannot be prevented, power can be exerted by sending a certain brand of soap to a loved one so that uncleanness can be defeated. The commodity provides the assurance of familial love to families separated by war. Jean Baudrillard, discusses advertising as a type of enticing solicitude; giving the consumer the sense that someone is caring for them.⁴²⁹ In a Monkey Brand soap advertisement the war is pictured as a disrupted domestic space. Though the text alludes to the hardship faced by fighting men, reading 'Cleaning greasy dixies or metal articles in hot countries where water is scarce seems rather a hopeless job, but Monkey Brand makes it easy.' the image in no way reflects the realities of war (figure 19). The text extrapolates on the labour saving qualities of their product. In economising wartime conditions, advertisers focused on relieving guilt and normalising everyday concerns, domesticating the war zone and creating an alternate universe that relieved the consumer of the realities of war.

428 D. Goldman, *Women and World War I: The Written Response* (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. 120.

429 J. Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London, Sage, 1998), p. 161.

The structure of domestic and war experiences is in many ways remarkably similar and this may go some way towards explaining the focus on domesticity in First World War publicity. Both are marked by a need for a order in a chaotic world. As Jennifer Haytock suggests, if the housekeeper cleans to keep nature under control and gain a sense of power within her confined life, the soldier sets up his own rituals to keep the random forces of death at bay.⁴³⁰ Picturing war as ritual reveals the constructed nature of daily experience purported by war publicity. Through placing familiar British products in unfamiliar spaces of conflict, the war was in many ways normalised. In *No Man's Land*, Eric Leed explains how the First World War became separated from home and at the same time tried to recreate a sense of home at the front – an attempt ever futile, as men died and were continually replaced preventing the sense of security that the idea of home inherently represents.⁴³¹

THE SPHERE

How OXO is welcomed at the Front and in the Navy.

OXO exactly meets the needs of our fighting forces in every part of the world. It aids and increases nutrition and stimulates and builds up strength to resist climatic changes; it is invaluable for all who have to undergo exertion either to promote fitness or to recuperate after fatigue.

It takes up little space, is easily carried, and can be converted quickly into a hot nourishing drink, which, with bread or biscuits, will sustain for hours.

OXO is absolutely unrivalled for use on the Field, in the Hospital, in the Canteen and in Training.

Be sure to send OXO

Fig. 20: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for OXO, IWM uncatalogued.

430 J. A. Haytock, *At Home, at War: Domesticity and World War I in American Literature* (Ohio: Ohio State University, 2003), p. xxii.

431 Leed, *No Man's Land*, p. 210.

In his *Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard discusses the poetic nature of home: he compares home to a birds' nest, proposing that the bird builds its nest because it is confident in the world around it.⁴³² Our home, he explains, is a nest in the world, we can live there in confidence and participate in the sense of security it provides. He further speaks of the comforting illusion of continuity, protection and stability which bonds people to their home.⁴³³ In what are arguably two of the most prominent studies on masculinity on the home front, both Bourke and Meyer have argued that men recreated a sense of home at the front, through domestic ritual and a kind of familial bonding within the all male environment.⁴³⁴ Bourke deduces that this was a result of their removal from the feminising influence of wives, mothers and female lovers that allowed for male intimacy.⁴³⁵ An OXO hot drink advertisement printed in *The Sphere* pictures a moment of homely bonding between a group of soldiers (figure 20). There is a suggestion of homeliness and comfort in the image as the men, sat in close quarters, share a moment of rest around a fire. One soldier is preparing a drink of OXO for the others. Gender roles were disrupted as men were required to carry out tasks that had formerly been the preserve of women. They prepared food; darned their socks; washed their dirty uniforms. In the Monkey Brand Soap advertisement, private domesticity and the warfront - two seemingly opposing spheres - converge in a single commodity spectacle. The men are performing a domestic task that would usually be consigned to the opposite sex. However, the war environment allows this private female task to be both masculine and public. In official material, domesticity is represented through the act of male bonding, the camaraderie between a man and his fellows. However, commercial advertising allowed for a more explicit interpretation due to the function of the products that were being advertised.

432 G. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* tr. By M. Jolas (New York: Orion, 1994), p. V.

433 Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, p. V.

434 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 40-44; Meyer, *Men Of War*, p. 89.

435 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 41.

THE MALE WAR WORKER

In the majority of war publicity featuring male figures, the man is, unsurprisingly, portrayed as a soldier. However, some images had to appeal to those that couldn't fight; perhaps they were too old, or had some illness or injury that prevented them from going to war, in which case, the male worker was represented in common cause. In nineteenth century masculinity, men were defined by the type of work they did, it was an expression of their individuality and was influenced by, and influenced, their social standing. Middle-class work had to be dignified, free from any suggestion of patronage or servility.⁴³⁶ Of course, for working-class men, the scope for expression of the self through work was inevitably limited, but the notion that his worth lay in his skill carried a comparable load of moral worth.⁴³⁷ Enough that craft unions demanded the continuation of traditional labour relations based on respect for the masculine skills of men.⁴³⁸ Inevitably, it was the latter type of work that First World War publicity displayed.



Fig. 21: Anon (n.d.), 'We're Both Needed', IWM PST 13211.

436 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 112.

437 Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 30.

438 K. Mclelland, 'Some Thoughts on Masculinity and the Representative Artisan, 1850-1880' in *Gender and History*, Vol. 1 (1989), pp. 164-177, p. 168.

One of the earlier examples of the male worker in British war publicity is PRC poster number 85, *We're Both Needed To Serve The Guns!* (figure 21). At the forefront of the image, a British infantryman and an industrial worker shake hands, behind each man is his respective background - to the left, a British howitzer and team, and to the right a factory and steam engine. Underneath the image the text states 'Fill Up The Ranks! Pile Up The Munitions!' The poster makes common identity between the home front and the war front. As in publicity produced for The National League of Safety and the National Relief Fund, as well as commercial examples, the juxtaposition of war front and home front serves as a visual discourse to emphasise the collective mission. What is notable about *We're Both Needed To Serve The Guns!* is that rather than using the image of the soldier as the ideal citizen against whom the worker should measure his own participation, both men are equally crucial to the war effort. Both men are made masculine by the signs of their work, the soldier in his uniform, gun over his shoulder, the worker in his open-necked shirt and waistcoat, his shirt sleeves raised to show his muscular forearms. *The Man The Army Wants Now* draws on a similar



Fig. 22: Anon (n.d.), 'The Man the Army Wants Now', IWM PST 13299.

visual language (figure 22). Appealing for workmen to provide shells and rifle ammunition, the poster shows a man operating an industrial machine, in the background, a line of canon guns remind the viewer of his crucial role in the war. The images are emblematic of the way in which war publicity construed manly work to be physical and manual. The fact that women also worked in munitions factories might suggest that the labour was of a type that could be carried out by both sexes, yet the muscular tone of the men in these posters suggests otherwise. They assert the fact that it is also masculine to work as well as to fight. There is an ideological contradiction in the masculine-worker subject and the way he is portrayed. If the image wants to attract male workers for the war effort, masculine labour is glamourised. The men in these images are chisel faced, with clear muscular definition. Behind the men, the iconography of war lends an air to authority their tasks.



Fig. 23: J. P. B. Beadle (1917), 'It's Worth While', IWM PST 10285.



Fig. 24: B. Thomas (1918), 'You Get More', IWM PST 10290.

By contrast, the male workers represented in James Beadle's 1917 poster, *It's Worth While! That's Why* (figure 23) and *You Get More Than He Does, What Are You Doing With The Difference?* (figure 24) are older, less physically fit, and meek looking. Figures 23 and 24 are particularly interesting because they appear to take on the widespread resentment related to war profiteering felt by fighting men in a direct way.⁴³⁹ In figure 24, the worker clutches his wage with both hands, glancing towards the soldier who cuts an imposing figure. The perspective allows both the viewer and the worker to look up at the soldier who represents the model citizen whose sacrifice and participation should be emulated. The image polices the non-participatory behaviour of the worker. The undercurrent of the text, which implores 'What Are You Doing With The Difference?', suggests that the higher wage received by war workers could be re-used to support war efforts. It tackles head-on the injustice felt by soldiers receiving less pay for risking their lives on the front line. Figure 23 depicts an older man with a pipe. He appears thoughtful and engaged, the text reminds him that though he is too old to fight, he is not too old to work. As is reiterated throughout pictorial publicity campaigns, civilians have a duty to support the war. These examples demonstrate how pictorial publicity employed the discourse of patriotic citizenship to construct those that fully participated in the war effort as good citizens, and those that did not, through war profiteering or by questioning the status quo, as non-citizen subjects. In the hierarchy of patriotic citizenship, the soldier is the model of a moral citizen because he meets all of the factors which pictorial publicity deems necessary to be a patriotic British citizen. He has sacrificed his home-life to join the army, he has participated in the war effort and he has demonstrated his support for British war aims. Civilians at home can emulate his commitment by doing their duty and serving their nation with patriotic labour.

439 Phillip Gibbs, one of five British war journalists in the First World War discusses such resentment in his memoir. P. Gibbs, *Now it Can be Told* (London: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2014 [1920]).

CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to explore how concepts of masculinity were established in First World War publicity, and the shape that such concepts took. The men that fought in the war were the product of late Victorian and early Edwardian masculinity. As such appeals focused on the pre-established values of imperial adventure and all-male camaraderie. What is notable is that ultimately the latter took the dominant role. This is perhaps unsurprising given that notions of participation and collective effort were maintained as the focus of appeals in wider war publicity campaigns. Yet, to help ensure that appeals reached a wide audience, it also enabled new representations of less represented members of the British public. Notions of adventure became recessive to be replaced by images of all-male groups appealing to democratic commonality. The heroes of the battlefield imagined in pre-war literary and cultural constructs were superseded by the power of the commonplace. In pictorial publicity every man could be a hero. Class is subordinated to common cause and national need. As such, there is also an argument to be made that the focus on collective endeavor represented something more democratic and inclusive as new sections of society achieved representational enfranchisement. WJT Mitchell observes how the role of images in establishing collective, historical identities within their viewers is a two-way procedure.⁴⁴⁰ Images do not merely reflect the intended values of their producers, but actively confirm the viewer as subjects as they recognise aspects of themselves in the imagery and produce new values formed in their collective political unconscious. In the political landscape of the early twentieth century, the rise of left-wing Socialist groups and the new Labour Party witnessed a growing self-recognition of the value of collective effort and social solidarity within the working classes. In the visual landscape of pictorial publicity, advertisers were creating a new and different 'myth'. One which was less reliant on abstract allegorical iconography and more focused on the commonplace and familiar to appeal to such values.

This was a modern war that required modern publicity. Image makers were imbued with the responsibility of creating an army of male soldiers and workers for Britain. They had to

440 W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 105.

establish imagery that was recognisable and appealing so that the viewer could insert himself into the narrative of war. They did so by merging the pre-established ideal of manliness as adventurous, militaristic and duty-bound to his nation with new discourses focused on all-male group bonding and collective effort. In light of other campaigns discussed in this study, the discourse of masculinity was just one amongst many, yet it was arguably the foundation of discourses of shared sacrifice, common cause and national duty promoted in wider print media. The soldier was the ideal citizen against whom British civilians were expected to regulate their own behavior and as such his constructed image was crucial to maintaining the notion of a national community of civilians and soldiers at war. The next chapter will examine how such narratives held up in the representation of the war-maimed soldier.

Two First World War advertisements, one for Frazertown Irish Aprons, and one for ‘The British Prisoners of War Food Parcels and Clothing Fund’ demonstrate the contradictions present in representations of wounded soldiers in First World War publicity and the origins of my argument in this chapter. At first glance, both images appear remarkably similar, despite their seemingly adverse purposes. Both are lithographs featuring a wounded male soldier tended by a female nurse. Contrasts between lightness and darkness heighten a sense of drama. In both, the male figure’s woundedness is only apparent through the use of the walking cane or arm sling as signifier. Yet further analysis of the representation of each event elucidates the type of response each image hopes to solicit in the viewer. While both designate the war-maimed body as the focus of the image, one serves to reinforce masculinity, while the other undermines it. The soldier in the Red Cross’s *For All Prisoners and*



Fig. 1: Anon (n.d.), ‘For All Prisoners,’ IWM PST 10883.

Captives is typical of the way that wounded men are represented in charity imagery (figure 1). Leaning on a box, he appears drained of the vigour usually present in images of able-bodied male soldiers. With ripped trouser leg and bandaged knee, he is infantile and weak. He reaches towards a motherly Red Cross nurse, who hands him a parcel behind the back of the shadowy presence of a German soldier. The nurse is placed in a position of power, leaning over the soldier who is at her mercy, and by implication, the viewer's, help. The image only achieves its objective of soliciting charitable donations if the wounded male is powerless to aid himself. By contrast, a Frazerton Aprons advertisement places the soldier and the nurse on even ground (figure 2). The soldier stands taller and appears healthy and virile as the nurse tends to his injured arm. The wounded soldier's role is to lend an air of military authority to the encounter. Pipe in mouth, he is mature and commanding despite his injury. Represented in a commercial advertisement, the soldier legitimises the consumerist act of purchasing the apron. Both of these advertisements, with their contrasting modes of representing similar events, serve to demonstrate the interchangeable appropriation of the wounded soldier's body in First World War print publicity.

The previous chapter examined key questions around how masculinity and manliness were expressed through visual codes that drew on pre-existing social and cultural constructs about masculinity in First World War publicity. It further considered how representations of men



Fig. 2: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Frazerton Irish Aprons, IWM PST 10883.

were focused around discourses of adventure, participation, camaraderie and duty. This chapter moves forward to examine the representation of wounded and disabled soldiers in commercial and charitable advertising, and official government propaganda during the First World War. It maintains that, in the publicity, representations of wounded or disabled soldiers negotiate complex territory between ideas about disability and deservedness, and notions of patriarchal masculinity and soldiering. The soldiers represented in these images obtained their injury in the act of defending the potential viewer. Consequently, their representation is a product of the negotiation of conflicting discourses about disability, masculinity and citizenship, and contemporary debate around the specificity of disability caused by war. As such, using the concept of patriotic citizenship detailed in chapter two, this chapter will assess how articulations of war woundedness contributed to sustaining notions of citizenship found elsewhere in pictorial publicity, and the citizen-identities produced in the process. I will argue that print publicity imagery contributed to two overriding discourses about war-wounded soldiers. The first draws on social and cultural ideas about deservedness to present the wounded soldier's body as a site of sentimentality in order to attract public sympathy. This type of imagery was generally encountered between 1915 and 1919. It infantilises and emasculates the wounded and disabled soldier in order to solicit charitable donations from compassionate viewers. The second discourse focuses on overcoming disability. These images are found in material produced by commercial concerns, and charities and government schemes for the employment of disabled soldiers after the war. They focus on the restoration of masculinity through rehabilitation, and present images of the disabled soldier as a productive citizen. At least for a short period, such imagery allowed for new representations of the wounded body as able to contribute to society. Ultimately, although this chapter proposes that images of disabled and wounded soldiers fit into two broad social constructs, it aims to demonstrate the ranging representations within these two discourses, and to unpick the complex and conflicting nature of representing wounded and disabled soldiers during the First World War.

LITERATURE SURVEY

As in other thematic areas of study in First World War publicity, the depiction of wounded and disabled soldiers has been largely neglected and there is only a thin historiography on which to draw. Disability history is still a relatively new subject. Developed as a sub-field of social inquiry in the social sciences, it is now beginning to emerge as a sub-discipline in the humanities. Within this sub-genre, a number of scholars are starting to turn their attention to disability as a legacy of war. Nonetheless, these works are still relatively scarce, and historical scholarship on disabled veterans is fragmentary, often reduced to a chapter within a larger work. On the representation of wounded and disabled soldiers in pictorial publicity there is currently only one paper and it is focused on American material. John Kinder's 'Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier's Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War One' is an edited chapter in Pearl James' *Picture This*.⁴⁴¹ Kinder argues that in American poster art and photography, representation took form through three broad constructions. The first, Kinder states, manifested most prominently in Red Cross posters, and presented a sentimental portrayal of combat injury, depicting the wounded soldier as helpless in order to solicit donations from the public.⁴⁴² The second portrays the disabled veteran as a self-reliant actor, keen to resume his role as a male citizen.⁴⁴³ Finally, Kinder argues that the third construction of wounded soldiers is found primarily in anti-war photography from the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁴⁴ He argues that this material had a very different use, thus in contrast to wartime propagandists, producers of anti-war material mobilised the wounded soldier's body to provide a critique of war.⁴⁴⁵ Kinder's analysis offers a starting point for thinking about the representation of the wounded or disabled soldier in First World War publicity. He argues that because imagery was produced by a range of groups for the consumption of the able-bodied majority, the disabled soldier

441 J. Kinder, 'Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier's Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War One' in P. James (ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

442 Kinder, 'Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier's Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War One', p. 341.

443 Ibid, p. 341.

444 Ibid, p. 341.

445 Ibid, p. 341.

had no authority in his own representation.⁴⁴⁶ He points out that to understand how the war disabled viewed themselves would require a different set of sources; personal sketchbooks and diaries.⁴⁴⁷ This research aims contributes to Kinder's discussion. It will examine how images of wounded soldiers were shaped by popular cultural ideas about disability during the First World War, and explore the inherent contradictions present in First World War publicity that depicts wounded and disabled soldiers. As such, it will demonstrate how the war could be construed as a watershed in the representation of disabled bodies in that it enabled the representation of permanently wounded soldiers as productive, contributing citizens, whilst simultaneously presenting the disabled body as dependent according to the purpose of the messages displayed in pictorial publicity.

In addition to Kinder's paper, the representation of disabled soldiers has been analysed briefly within a larger work on war posters by Maurice Rickards. In his seminal study *Posters of the First World War*, Rickards locates images of the war wounded in the second stage of what he calls the 'basic structure of the apparatus of persuasion'.⁴⁴⁸ According to Rickards, calls to aid those injured at the front emerged at the midpoint of the war; after the mobilisation of men, and before appeals for women workers and economic sacrifice.⁴⁴⁹ He further suggests that the dissemination of images of injury had to be carefully controlled: released too early in the conflict, and they might induce the civilian population into a state of 'premature despondency', fearful that the war would be impossible to win.⁴⁵⁰ Issued too late, and the government might have failed to convey its appreciation of wartime sacrifice.⁴⁵¹ Notably, Rickards' argument relies on the dissemination of images as a responsibility of the government alone. As the representation of wounded soldier material in the 'War Publicity' collection demonstrates, the majority of pictorial publicity material featuring

446 Ibid, p. 356.

447 Ibid, p. 347.

448 M. Rickards, *Posters of the First World War: Selected and reviewed by Maurice Rickards* (London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, 1968), p.3.

449 Ibid, p. 5.

450 Ibid, p. 6.

451 Ibid, p. 5.

images of disability were not issued as part of government campaigns. In fact, the viewer was much more likely to encounter the image of the wounded soldier in charitable appeals, and occasionally in commercial advertising. This latter is particularly noteworthy as it demonstrates a recognition of the disabled body beyond the arena of charitable publicity which, previous to the war, focused only on presenting the disabled body as dependent. In Britain, government materials referring to soldiers injured in war tended to focus on appeals to employers, and for the most part, they were released once the war was over. A 1919 government report on the work of the PRC noted that the aim of poster art had been to ‘stimulate and not depress’ and that it ‘set its face resolutely against depicting scenes of a gruesome character’.⁴⁵² This stance may seem self-evident for a wartime government, and adheres to Rickards’ suggestion that faced with the image of wounded soldiers, civilians may have been induced into a state of despondency, yet in other visual fields the government had not shied away from depicting more realistic interpretations. Propaganda films produced by Wellington House combined realism with the ‘atmosphere of war’.⁴⁵³ *The Battle of the Somme* (1916) depicted men going ‘over the top’, it showed wounded soldiers receiving treatment, and even the shocking scene of one soldier’s death.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, the advertising trade was equally as influential in controlling the dissemination of disability imagery, having exercised caution over causing offence after receiving criticism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries over the use of explicit cinema posters.

Beyond Kinder and the very brief reference to wounded soldiers in Rickards’ *Posters of the First World War* it is necessary to read more widely on the history and representation of disabled soldiers in order to contextualise their representation in pictorial publicity. David

452 TNA, ‘Parliamentary Recruitment Committee: Report on the Work of the Committee’ (1915-16), WO 106/367.

453 Geoffrey Malins, one of Britain’s most prolific official film makers during the First World War stated that during his time making films at the front he ‘always tried to remember that it was through the eyes of the camera...that the millions of people at home would gain their only first hand knowledge of what was happening at the front.’ He goes on to say ‘I tried to make my pictures actual and reliable, above all, I have striven to catch the atmosphere of the battlefield.’ Lieutenant Geoffrey Malins, *How I filmed the War*. Ed. by Low Warren (London, 1920), p.303-4.

454 *The Battle of the Somme* (IWM, 2008 [1916]).

Gerber's *Finding Disabled Veterans in History* addresses the representation of wounded and disabled soldiers in other wars.⁴⁵⁵ It is an edited volume that is divided into three sections: representation, public policy and living with a disability, and covers a broad range of issues relating to veterans of wars in North America and Europe. The wars covered in the anthology span a large time period from Ancient Greece to sixteenth century England, the Napoleonic wars, the American Civil War, World Wars I and II, Americans in Vietnam, and Russians in Afghanistan. Because they are separated thematically as opposed to chronologically, together the papers highlight how significant issues about the body, masculinity, national identity and collective memory are common to all wars. The volume demonstrates how by receiving their disability in the patriotic and sacrificial act of serving their country, soldiers disabilities distinguish them from the disabled civilian, who obtained their injury outside of war. This argument maintains the case put forth in this chapter for displays of patriotic citizenship as a visible marker within society. Subject to a Foucauldian reading, the discourse of patriotic citizenship materially marks the body in the sense that for the duration of the war at least, the war-acquired injury could be used to identify the citizen-soldier who had made the sacrifice of fighting for his country. As such, his wound invests him with an honourable quality: a visible hallmark of good citizenship, and he is therefore presented as more deserving of aid. This is in line with Joanna Bourke's argument that disabled civilians suffered during and after the war because they had to compete with soldiers for limited resources.⁴⁵⁶ Gerber ultimately concludes that disabled civilians benefitted from the creation of public assistance and rehabilitation programmes that were eventually made available to all citizens.⁴⁵⁷ The representation section in Gerber's edited volume is the smallest of the three, reflecting the scarcity of research into this field.⁴⁵⁸ Three authors present essays dealing with how disabled veterans have been depicted in geographically and chronologically diverse wars featuring one essay on Ancient Greece and

455 D. Gerber (ed.), *Disabled Veterans in History* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012).

456 J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999 [1996]).

457 D. Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History*, p. 15.

458 Ibid.

two on the twentieth century United States.⁴⁵⁹ However, read together, the three do draw on some similar themes that also relate to First World War publicity. Each paper notes the unstable identity that plagues the wounded or disabled soldier, and the responses of pity and fear that are perpetuated by their representation.⁴⁶⁰ A discourse considered within this chapter assesses the depiction of the war wounded body as a site of sentimentality. While these papers do not specifically address pictorial publicity, that they find similar conclusions in their study of the visual representation of disability is worth noting. On the experience of First World War soldiers, Joanna Bourke's *Dismembering the Male* includes an insightful chapter on wounded soldiers in which she argues that the war fundamentally altered the experience of disability as the war maimed were forced to compete for limited economic and social resources with disabled civilians.⁴⁶¹ Meanwhile Deborah Cohen's *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* explores why disabled veterans in Britain and Germany had a contrasting response to their treatment upon return from the war.⁴⁶² In Weimar Germany where the state provided for veterans with generous public provisions, disabled German veterans despised and railed against the government.⁴⁶³ By contrast, in Britain where disabled veterans struggled to receive benefits, and were not provided with adequate pensions as promised by the state to all enlisting soldiers, complacency dominated in their reaction.

As has been expressed, this thesis makes the argument that in relation to the depiction of disabled soldiers in pictorial publicity, the discourses of sentimentality and rehabilitation dominated. If the concept of patriotic citizenship is applied to this argument, one could speculate that the wounded body was presented within a framework that drew upon existing pre-conceptions of the disabled body whilst simultaneously responding to specific war conditions allowing for new representations. In the representation of the wounded

459 Ibid, pp. 55-96.

460 Ibid, pp. 56; 66; 71; 73; 82; 89-90.

461 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 31-76.

462 D. Cohen, *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California: University of California Press, 2001).

463 Ibid, p. 23.

soldier's body as a site of sentimentality, negative suggestion is avoided through the use of sanitised imagery. Positive associations are created through the notion of sacrifice. As such, much of this imagery evokes the notion of the soldier as Christ-like. He has fulfilled his duty and is thus deserving of help. In rehabilitation imagery, the wounded soldier is presented in recovery. He is the model citizen, contributing to the common cause through work despite already having sacrificed.

SITES OF SENTIMENTALITY: PITYING THE WAR-MAIMED BODY

The representation of wounded or disabled soldiers during the First World War marked a crossroads in the representation of disability. For advertisers, printers and artisans producing the materials that this chapter will discuss, the depiction of wounded and disabled men was unfamiliar territory. In visual culture, before 1914, civilian encounters with images of disability were generally limited to pictures of incapacitated or limbless children in



Fig. 3: J. Collier (1770), 'The Pluralist and the Soldier', Wellcome Library, ICV No 20767.

charity literature. In this context, Roger Cooter argues that images of children were used as examples of the prevailing ideologies on self-help, whereby a crippled child who could be encouraged to walk without crutches provided a model of triumph over adversity.⁴⁶⁴ Where men had been represented, the most prevalent representation was the ‘beggar-cripple’. An eighteenth century engraving by John Collier capitalises on the notion of the soldier turned ‘beggar-cripple’ (figure 3). The image depicts a one legged beggar bent towards a well fed pluralist. The pluralist gazes towards the man he considers the imposter with disdain and annoyance at his approach. The text underneath the image describes an exchange between the two men. The beggar explains that he is crippled and unable to work as a result of a war injury. The pluralist calls him a vagrant and tells him to turn to his parish or find work, to which the beggar replies that his family is dead, and he has no parish. The pluralist ultimately believes all beggars to be liars and refuses to give money to the ex-soldier. Collier’s image and the accompanying tale, are demonstrative of the negative opinion that ultimately befell disabled ex-soldiers before the First World War. An opinion that had been upheld after the Napoleonic wars. In 1918, Douglas McMurtrie, Director of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men in the United States, where disabled men faced similar social categorisations, voiced his concerns about such representations in a letter to The British Medical Journal stating:

‘Sir, - The public has too often confused the idea of a cripple with that of a beggar. The resulting reaction has done a great injury to the cause of the self-respecting disabled man in regarding him as a subject for charity’.⁴⁶⁵

Deborah Stone has argued that in the nineteenth century there developed a ‘disability category’ whose shared cultural meaning was so pervasive that representations such as the begging imposter served as defining characteristics for public welfare programs.⁴⁶⁶ Public

464 R. Cooter, ‘The Disabled Body’ in R. Cooter and J. Pickstone (eds.), *Companion to Medicine in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 370.

465 D. McMurtrie, ‘The Beggar Cripple’ in *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, (July, 1918), p. 101.

466 D. Stone, *The Disabled State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), p. 18.

debate during the First World War shows an awareness of the negative opinion towards disabled men, and acknowledges that the state has a responsibility to provide pensions that could prevent ex-soldiers from falling into poverty. As early as 1915, an article in *The British Medical Journal* debated what would become of Britain's wounded veterans. The article raised concerns about the likelihood of large numbers of permanently disabled men returning to Britain and how the state would provide for them.⁴⁶⁷ Yet the representation of the disabled male as beggar cripple was so pervasive, that one of the tasks of First World War publicity was to contend with this opinion.

Public rhetoric, at least for a short period during and immediately after the war, focused on distinguishing disabled soldiers as rightful recipients of public welfare and would influence how they were imaged in publicity material. The fact that those depicted in war publicity materials had acquired their injury in service to the state differentiated them from the disabled civilian. As model citizens they had contributed to the common cause, and exemplified, by meeting the characteristics of good patriotic citizens, their willingness to fight to defend British values. This created a culture in which wounded or disabled soldiers were understood to be more deserving of help than the disabled civilian, while simultaneously encouraging a similar level of commitment to the war in the viewer.⁴⁶⁸ In 1919, Sir Robert Horne, Minister for Labour declared that disabled soldiers 'would carry throughout their lives the worst burdens of the worst hardships of the war' and it is 'upon us to take every means to make their future as comfortable as the country's means would allow'.⁴⁶⁹ His allusion to the extent to which the country's aid would extend to disabled soldiers is revealing of his parliamentary role. Nonetheless, there is a clear awareness that the state must bear responsibility for men disabled as a result of the war. In a comment made later in the same article he states 'The government...has felt it is also a duty to treat

467 Anon, 'The Care Of Disabled Soldiers' in *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2 (August 1915), pp. 227-8.

468 For a discussion of the First World War's impact on disabled civilians see Bourke, J (1996). *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. London: Reaktion Books.

469 R. Horne, 'Welfare of Disabled soldiers: Important Concessions' in *Manchester Guardian* (22 August 1919), p. 10.

the disabled soldier who is unemployed in an exceptional way, and it has been decided to extend the period of unemployment donation'.⁴⁷⁰ They were wounded warriors deserving of help from those whom they had fought to protect. By contrast, the disabled civilian man was the object of criticism. Incompetent as the family patriarch, and unable to work for his money, he was imagined to be tied to the home, or out on the streets begging for money. A culture of blame in which the disabled civilian was thought to be at fault and therefore undeserving of state or social support contributed to notions about deservedness.

Notions of deservedness are embedded within the discourse of wounded and disabled soldiers. Disabled soldiers were injured in service to the state, and after 1916, would not have made the choice to go to war. As the discussion of the beggar cripple figure demonstrated, in pre-war society, disability had often been defined in terms of responsibility, thus it was necessary for war charities concerned with wounded or disabled soldiers to counter this opinion. This often surfaced in the form of a direct appeal in poster text. St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Sailors and Soldiers reminded the viewer that the pictured man has been *Blinded for You* and The 1914 War Society implores *Do your duty to our boys as they are doing theirs to you*.⁴⁷¹ In images of wounded soldiers, the sense of duty assigned to able-bodied men during the First World War shifts to the civilian, who is now in a position to contribute to the war effort. Such examples draw particular comparison with the economy campaigns discussed in chapter two. Emphasis is placed on the moral value of personal economic sacrifice through direct appeal. While on a basic level such publicity sought to raise funds for disabled soldiers, they also appeal to the notion of a national community at war. Good citizens recognise the sacrifice of soldiers and consequently contribute to the common cause through monetary sacrifice. The use of direct address is important because it places immediate responsibility on the viewer: both the individual and the collective are equally responsible for supporting war aims. Stoddard-Holmes discusses Victorian disability as

470 Ibid.

471 See Mac, M. 'Blinded For You!', IWM PST 10807 and Brangwyn, F. 'Do Your Duty To Our Boys As They Are Doing Theirs To You', IWM PST 10817.

shaped by the ‘monetary economy’.⁴⁷² She argues that children were viewed as deserving of help because they were imagined as part of a ‘sacred non-working realm’, whereas disabled men were demonised as beggars precisely because they were not working.⁴⁷³ Like the treatment of disabled children, wounded ex-servicemen are constructed in examples of charitable print media to be (at least for the time being), outside the realm of work. They have been injured in service to their country, and it is thus the responsibility of British citizens to take care of them.

The potential for infantilisation of disabled ex-servicemen is implicit in hospitalisation and rehabilitation, because their bodies are subject to the care of another person. As a result, men could be infantilised in the sense that they appear weak and child-like, as demonstrated in *For All Prisoners and Captives*, or infantilisation can be linked to the caregiver through gendered assumptions (figure 1). Both Seth Koven and Joanna Bourke have demonstrated the potentially infantilising effects on First World War British disabled veterans, who during the war, shared treatment facilities, specialists, and assigned relationships with similarly disabled boys.⁴⁷⁴ Yet they were also infantilised pictorially in charity imagery in order to solicit donations from the public. Imagery such as Tom Purvis’ *Most Urgent of All Funds for The Red Cross*, and a 1918 poster advertising Bellahouston Garden Fete are a stark contrast to the representation of able-bodied men in pictorial publicity material (figures 4 and 5). Both images depict the wounded soldier reclining in bed, recovering from a head injury, which is signified by a bandage. Picturing recovering soldiers in a hospital bed is in line with imagery of patients, and is a trend that continued through the inter-war period and the Second World War.⁴⁷⁵ It evokes associations with notions of care and responsibility in

472 M. Stoddard Holmes, *Fictions of Affliction: Physical Disability in Victorian Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), p. 101.

473 Ibid.

474 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*; S. Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain’ in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (October, 1994), pp. 1167-1202.

475 A ‘Help the Hospitals’ poster produced in 1925 by Manchester and Salford Medical Charities depicts a female child lying in bed as a nurse administers medicine, Manchester Archives, 3 Dec 1925. Similarly a poster titled ‘Make Nursing Your War Job’ produced during the Second World War shows a row of soldiers in hospital beds, the nurse is pictured in the foreground, IWM PST 14571.

the image of the nurse and with notions of weakness and invalidity for the patient in need of attention. Tom Purvis' poster puts the soldier as the focus of the viewer's gaze (figure 4). His bandaged head is the focal point of the image. It is constructed in such a way that the viewer is looking directly at the soldier, his injuries are unavoidable, and he has acquired them for you. In the Bellahouston Hospital image, it is the nurse that draws the viewer's eye, as she serves the injured soldier with a cup of tea (figure 5). With his head wrapped in a pristine bandage, and an appreciative smile on his face, the soldier appears to be recovering in comfort. The image offers no suggestion that he is suffering from his injuries and avoids inciting feelings of horror or distaste. Other than the presence of the bandage, which was one of the most common signifiers of wartime woundedness, there is little suggestion that he has incurred any sort of bodily damage whatsoever. The balance of gendered power in the Red Cross image is reinforced by the composition of the two figures. The female nurse leans over the injured man, he is passive; wholly dependent upon his caregiver. Rosemarie Garland Thomson has established the relationship between the viewer and the viewed in spatial terms[□].⁴⁷⁶ By placing the wounded soldier in the lower half of the image, below the nurse, he is constructed as a passive victim or helpless sufferer. Thomson refers to this compositional technique as a 'visual rhetoric of sentimentality'[□].⁴⁷⁷ In the context of this image, the sentimental provides a framework in which seeing injury is allied to a type of sanitised social acceptability, and the duty of a good citizen. Through his placement in the image, the wounded veteran is diminished to invoke feelings of compassion and pity in the viewer.

Printers and artisans producing propaganda concerned with wounded and disabled soldiers faced a difficult task. The advertising trade was self-regulating. After facing criticism on both a local and national level over explicit cinema posters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the industry responded by setting up its own censorship committee.

476 R. Garland Thomas, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 341.

477 Ibid.

Consequently, images had to be inoffensive, yet compelling enough that they encouraged donations from the viewer. In this vein, in images that depicted injury on the battlefield, or even death, women were key. They served as a moralising influence on depictions of the more horrifying aspects of war. Where injured soldiers could potentially be construed as having obtained their wound in the act of hurting another human being, women, and especially nurses, were a non-threatening beacon of the good and the just. In Charles Buchel's 1916 image for the Belgian Red Cross Fund, a Belgian soldier reclines on a grassy bank as a Red Cross nurse bedecked with angel wings tends to his head wound (figure 6). The poster presents the female nurse allegorically as an angelic-mother figure. The scene is set against a Belgian flag. Allied propaganda about supposed German atrocities in Belgium had been designed to influence the public to think of the enemy as somehow different, and inherently evil. If both sides were presented as morally culpable, the war would not be a just one. The soldier in Buchel's image is another victim of German barbarity. Employing the angelic-mother figure, the poster addresses emotion rather than reason, presenting a single man and woman to individualise his experience of injury. The reality, that men were injured and killed on a mass scale, is ignored. With a similar perspective to other Red Cross posters concerning wounded soldiers, drawing comparison with images of the lamentation of Christ, the viewer looks up at the image, and the female figure is placed higher than the male as she gazes down at him in a scene evoking motherly affection. Her representation as the mother-angel dispels any threat presented by potential intimate interactions between young, unmarried VADS and their male charges.⁴⁷⁸ In another Red Cross poster designed by John Hassall, the female figure is literally made angelic, as she hovers above the site of a soldier's death (figure 7). The presentation of these women as angelic is in line with the iconography of self-abnegating, devoted and virginal nurses, and was influenced by the myth of Florence Nightingale's 'Lady of the Lamp', which was instrumentalised to great effect in First World War Britain.⁴⁷⁹ This image was supported by the execution of Edith Cavell

478 C. Hallett, "'Emotional Nursing': Involvement, Engagement and Detachment in the Writing of First World War Nurses and VADS' in A. Fell and C. Hallett (eds.), *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 96-7.

479 S. Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University



Fig. 4: T. Purvis (n.d.), *Most Urgent of All Funds*, IWM PST 10843.



Fig. 5: Anon (1918), poster advertising Bellahouston Hospital Garden Fete, IWM PST 7946.

in 1915, and the subsequent propaganda that surrounded this event, which must surely have been recalled at the sight of the angelic nurse against a Belgian flag. Her sacrifice and devotion are reminiscent of the *pi ta*, as the angelic nurse laments unnecessary injury, or death of Britain's men at the hands of an ungodly Germany. Her role is about care, protection and lamentation. She enables the future through her protection of wounded soldiers and assures us that order can be restored. Like the male body, the female is interchangeable across representative boundaries. In recruiting imagery, the men besides whom the women appear are strong and virile, encouraged to join the army to protect the female, who is helpless. In wounded soldier imagery, the women appear strong, and by comparison the men are emasculated, bereft of their vigour and virility. However, the apparent challenge to traditional hegemony is a ruse, as the presentation of females as angelic-mother figures allows them to hold a sense of power over the male without challenging normative gender roles. Ultimately such imagery reinforces the accepted assumptions about the balance of power in the early twentieth century. John Kinder has drawn parallels between the wounded

soldiers body, and those of refugees, orphans and injured civilians.⁴⁸⁰ All four groups were routinely and interchangeably presented as sites of sentimentality.

As women were characterised by their ability to reproduce and keep a domestic home, men were defined by discourse concerned with the male breadwinner and marital relations. Sexuality had become a dominant feature of the late 19th and early 20th century, linking manly virility with a muscular stature.⁴⁸¹ The First World War had placed an unprecedented emphasis on the male body as medical examinations were built into recruitment. In both the Purvis and Bellahouston Hospital posters, along with other examples of wounded soldier imagery, the man is completely covered by his nightwear and lacks the muscular definition that was common in pictorial representations of fighting men (figures 4 and 5).⁴⁸² Any sign of manly virility present in pictures of able-bodied men has been omitted. In the care of the female nurse he has been thoroughly de-eroticised, pictured to have more in common with a helpless child than a grown man fresh from the battlefield. Although the significance should not be overstated, perceptions of sexual difference were present in literary and medical rhetorics. A 1918 article published in *The Lancet* suggests that the trauma of war both physical and psychological could contribute to male impotence.⁴⁸³ Psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel, a prolific writer and innovative therapist made the claim that thousands of ex-servicemen had been made impotent as a result of war, referring to them as ‘war impotent homosexuals’.⁴⁸⁴ Literary references such as the wheelchair bound husband in *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* or the impotent boyfriend in Helen Zenna Smith’s *Women of the Aftermath* upheld such beliefs. In *The Most Urgent of All Funds* and the poster advertising Bellahouston Garden Fete, the downplay of male sexuality works alongside associations of powerlessness to draw attention to his need for charity (figures 4 and 5).

480 Kinder, ‘Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier’s Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War One’, p. 346.

481 A. Carden Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). P. 164.

482 See for example ‘Lend Your Strong Right Arm To Your Country’, 1914, IWM PST 11459.

483 Anon, ‘Trauma and Impotence’ in *The Lancet*, Vol. 192, No. 4959 (September, 1918), pp. 363-4.

484 W. Stekel, *Impotence in the Male: The Psychic Disorders of Sexual Function in the Male* (London: John Lane, 1940 [1927]), p. 189.



Fig. 6: C. Buchel (1916), poster advertising the Belgian Red Cross, IWM PST 10906.



Fig. 7: J. Hassall (n.d.), poster advertising the Red Cross Fair, IWM PST 10855.



Fig. 8: A. Mantegna (c.1480), 'Lamentation of Christ', Pinacoteca di Brera Milan.

Despite the need to draw power away from the wounded soldier in order to solicit donations, positivity can be found in such imagery if it is compared to depictions of the death of Christ. Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7 draw on the pre-established iconography of Christianity to make a connection that is recognisable to the contemporary viewer. Andrea Mantegna's *Lamentation of Christ* for example depicts the dead Christ lying on a marble slab watched over by the grieving Virgin Mary and St. John (figure 8). Figures 4 and 5 particularly draw comparison with the iconography of insubstantial heavenly bodies awaiting resurrection. Such imagery serves to glorify sacrifice, and provide hope, with the promise of something to come. A number of scholars have commented on the social and cultural use of Christian imagery in Britain during the First World War as a function for mass societies confronted with death.⁴⁸⁵ Jay Winter observes how religious tropes provided a traditional frame of reference through

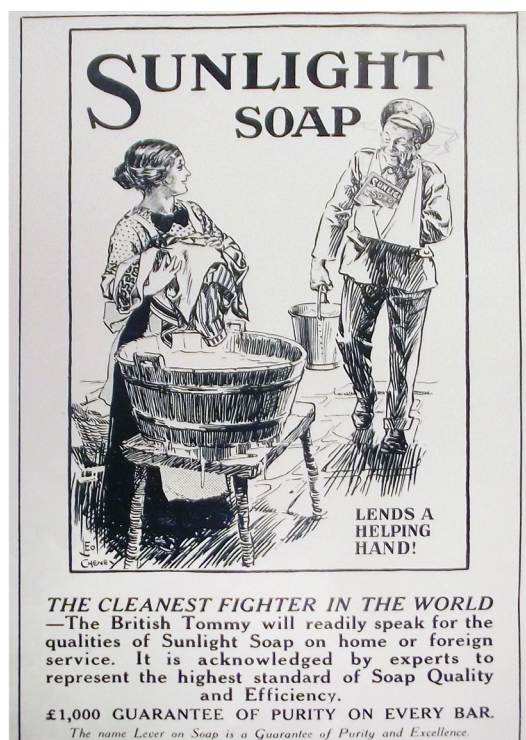


Fig. 9: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for Sunlight Soap, IWM uncatalogued.



Fig. 10: Rilette (n.d.), advertisement for De Reszke cigarettes, IWM PST 13678.

⁴⁸⁵ See C. Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials' in *Imperial War Museum Review* 6 (1991); G. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) and J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

the familiarity of ritual and iconography.⁴⁸⁶ Meanwhile Claudia Siebrecht argues that casting wartime suffering as Christ-like provided the public with a consolatory framework linked with familiar manifestations of hope.⁴⁸⁷

In contrast to the image of the asexual, dependent male depicted by the altruistic world of charity, the secularised commercial world plays on marital harmony, male strength and familial duty to stress the possibility of recuperation. Figure 9 shows a moment of domesticity between a man and his wife. Both are pictured in line with contemporary normative gender roles. As the female does her laundry, the male ‘Lends a Helping Hand’, using his uninjured arm to carry a pail of water. The box of Sunlight Soap placed in the



Fig. 11: J. Hassall (n.d.), ‘It’s 4 to 1’, IWM PST 3294.

486 J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 1-11.

487 C. Siebrecht, *The Aesthetics of Loss: German Women’s Art of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 136.

soldier's sling draws attention to his injury, associating his strength and usefulness in the face of war injury with the usefulness of the product. An image produced by Rilette for De Reszke cigarettes negotiates the relationship between a soldier and a nurse to glamourise war work and highlight the virility of the male soldier (see figure 10). Set against a white background, the image is a full length depiction of a wounded British soldier with his arm in a sling. He is seated in a chair, gazing up at the female nurse. In the background, cupid hides behind a chest of medical supplies, firing an arrow at the couple. Although the composition of the image places the soldier below the nurse, unlike the Bellahouston Hospital image shown in figure 5, the balance of power remains in favour of the male as he pulls on the woman's hand, and she appears to lean in towards him. Despite the serviceman's injury he is still desirable. Her coquettish demeanor exemplified through the placement of her feet, and her angled hand holding a box of cigarettes, suggest a girlish response to his flirtatious efforts, and stands in contrast with the portrayal of the nurse-mother or nurse-angel figures which eliminate the potential threat of intimate relations between nurses and their charges. Because commercial advertisements are using war related imagery to sell products, it is not necessary to construct the wounded soldier as powerless, because a sympathetic response is



Fig. 12: M. Mac (1916), 'Blinded for You', IWM PST 10807.



Fig. 13: Anon (1917), photograph showing 'little Ruby' walking through the grounds of St. Dunstan's Hostel with a soldier, St. Dunstan's Archive.

not desired in the viewer. Rather, this image fits in with narratives constructed in wartime popular fiction about relationships between wounded soldiers, and VAD nurses. Although the nurse in this image wants to be desired by the soldier, and is apparently made more desirable by the cigarette in her hand, the image also serves to reinforce the notion that wounded men have not lost their masculinity. As such, these images demonstrate the complexities and contradictions inherent in representations of the war-maimed.

John Hassall's recruiting poster *It's 4 to 1 Come & Help Us Lads* uses the head bandage as signifier of injury, yet where Purvis' *The Most Urgent of All Funds* and Bellahouston Hospital's poster use the bandage to show the soldier's need for charitable help, Hassall uses it to signify patriotic strength (figure 11). The stereotyping shifts according to the purpose of the image. His torn uniform revealing his chest and arms, the British soldier looks capable and strong as he battles on, regardless of woundedness, standing tall over his defeated enemy. He draws remarkable similarity with another recruitment poster designed by Hassall titled *Hurry Up! Boys*.⁴⁸⁸ He is the square-jawed handsome hero; noble and righteous yet blasted and bloodied. The viewer's gaze is forced upwards, compounding his masculine assertiveness. There was a growing awareness that disabled veterans would need to return to a life in which independence and usefulness would be key to recovery. Yet while the representation of the able-bodied or active soldier is characterised by specific male traits such as duty, honour, strength, responsibility and justice, the representation of the wounded or disabled soldier in many examples of print media mobilises pity and fear, the most common emotions associated with disability, to subvert masculinity, and infantilise and feminise the male in order to solicit donations. Ultimately, this imagery contributes to a conflicting representation of the wounded or disabled soldier because it presents him as an object of pity, while simultaneous discourse derided a pitying attitude.⁴⁸⁹

In St. Dunstan's *Blinded For You!* The veteran is literally dependent on a child to guide him as he comes to terms with his blindness (figure 12). The image was drawn by Michael Mac at

488 See figure 6 in chapter four.

489 See IWM PST 13211, 'Don't Pity a Disabled Man, Find Him a Job'.

the Regent's Park site of St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors in 1915 and featured on the cover of St. Dunstan's first annual report. Unlike many images featured on First World War publicity, this depicts a real event, as shown in figure 13. The girl, Ruby Crane, the daughter of William Smith, Head Gardener of the estate, who looks noticeably less polished in the photograph, was known amongst the men at St. Dunstan's as 'Little Ruby'. In a 1990 interview for the *St. Dunstan's Journal*, Crane explains that she would walk with the men as they made their way to workshops around the grounds. After the poster's release, Crane's fame spread as her picture was regularly featured in newspaper articles about the work of charities. She recalls photographers appearing so regularly at St. Dunstan's that it became a part of her 'everyday life' at the time.⁴⁹⁰ She became such a symbol for St. Dunstan's that she routinely received gifts and letters from those who had seen her featured in the press. Her inclusion in this poster, and her consequent prominence in the press is significant for the appeal of disabled veteran imagery. The soldier's body is the subject but not the theme of the image. The theme is giving, and the viewer should therefore recognise him or herself in the girl. She represents the sacrifice that all wounded and disabled soldiers have made so that she can have a future. Foucault argues that disciplinary power on the body works through incorporating norms and regulatory ideals with the subject's internal forms of self-regulation and self-monitoring.⁴⁹¹ Consequently, disciplinary power does not prohibit or constrain, rather, it acts upon the subject's own self-forming practices so that the subject comes to want certain ways of being. It is achieved through inculcation into specific bodily techniques as opposed to imposing certain ways of being on the individual. In recruitment posters this practice of inculcation is used through images of muscular bonding as men are presented moving in togetherness to solicit male recruits. By contrast, with the exclusion of political posters after 1918, war publicity featuring wounded or disabled men does not seek to appeal to the veteran. It is the viewer and potential donor whom the image wants to address and it does so through creating a dialogue with the viewer, who draws a sense of power from the picture through identification with the caregiver.

490 Anon, 'Little Ruby' in *St. Dunstan's Journal* (1991), p. 5.

491 Foucault, M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth Of the Prison* Tr. by A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).



Fig. 14: J. Singer Sargent (1919), 'Gassed', IWM ART 1460.



Fig. 15: P. Bruegel (elder), (1568), 'De Parabel Der Blinden', Museo Di Capodimonte collection.



Fig. 16: S. Scott (1918), 'Blinded', IWM PST 10809.

Acts of seeing, and being seen represent a notable theme in images of disabled soldiers in First World War publicity. Blindness was considered to be a product of modern warfare. Changes in weaponry impacted the number of eye injuries: the use of poison gas, artillery, small arms fire and hand grenades.⁴⁹² The use of poison gas had a particularly large impact on the public imagination, and may point towards the popularity of the image of the blinded soldier in First World War publicity. John Singer Sargent's *Gassed* paints a line of blinded soldiers, each dependent on the other, as they make their way to the dressing station (figure 14). Upon being sent the front as an official war artist, Sargent had not been inspired to depict those suffering from blindness by the invisibilities inherent in modern war, whose trench warfare caused difficulties in visual representation. It was only upon seeing a line of soldiers, temporarily blinded by the effects of poison gas, that his sympathies were aroused.⁴⁹³ *Gassed* can be read as a criticism of the First World War. It is reminiscent of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *The Parable of the Blind Leading the Blind* (figure 15). That the men had been blinded by gas is significant. Gas disorients and debilitates its victims, causing thick, impenetrable clouds through which it is impossible to see, or breathe as the lungs fill with liquid. In *Dulce Et Decorum Est*, Wilfred Owen recalls a gas attack, 'Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light. As under a green sea, I saw him drowning'.⁴⁹⁴ Blindness was a subject for war poets Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon, who both explore the war's assault on both body and mind. In Septimus E Scott's *Blinded*, a British medical orderly supports a blinded soldier across a markedly empty battlefield (figure 16). In contrast with Sargent's heavily populated *Gassed*, only two stretcher bearers are visible in the distance, drawing attention to the men in the foreground. One of the most tragic aspects of the First World War, that men were killed on an industrial scale, is ignored. The saccharine hue of the sky, in

492 J. Anderson and N. Pemberton, 'Walking alone: Aiding the War and the Civilian Blind in the inter-war Period' in *European Review of History*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December, 2007), pp. 459-479, p. 461.

493 D. Lubin, 'Losing Sight: War, Authority, and Blindness in British and American Visual Cultures, 1914-22' in *Art History*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (September 2011), pp. 796-817, p. 809.

494 W. Owen, 'Dulce et Decorum Est' in J. Stailworthy (ed.), *The Poems of Wilfred Owen* (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd), p.117.

lavender, orange and yellow draws a likeness with Gassed, dramatising the image and sitting at odds with the terrible effects of the poisonous gas that injured the subject of the image. That wartime blindness has become so associated with poison gas is suggestive of the fear inducing effect of this weapon. In fact, after the first gas attack by the German Army on the



Fig. 17: R. Caton Woodville (1916), 'Blinded for You,' postcard produced as part of a set of five sold to raise money for St. Dunstan's Hostel, St. Dunstan's archive.



Fig. 18: R. Caton Woodville (1916), 'Memories,' postcard produced as part of a set of five sold to raise money for St. Dunstan's Hostel, St. Dunstan's archive.

British in 1915, men wore gas masks and were more likely obtain injuries to the eyes as a result of other types of weaponry, and gas attacks caused only temporary blindness. At St. Dunstan's men were treated for traumatic blindness, caused by physical injury and for non-traumatic blindness, caused by disease. 26 per cent of blinded soldiers were incapacitated as a result of disease, syphilis being largely responsible.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ A. Lawson, *War blindness at St. Dunstan's* (London : H. Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton, 1922), p. 2.



Fig. 19: S. Van Offel, poster advertising California House, IWM PST 10912.

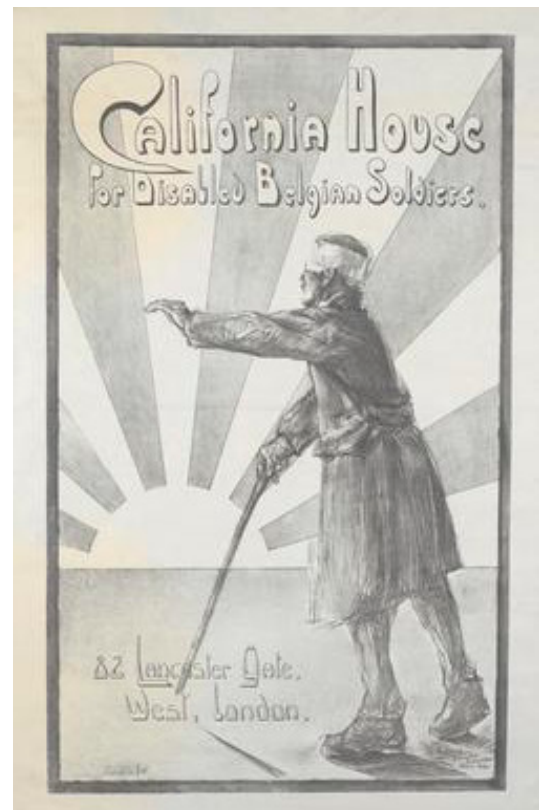


Fig. 20: A. Massonet, poster advertising California House, IWM PST 10913.

St. Dunstan's did not shy away from depicting images of warfare in their print publicity. Richard Caton Woodville's *Blinded!* depicts a soldier blinded in mid-conflict (figure 17). As fighting continues around him, the soldier walks alone, right arm outstretched, unawares into a trench. Unlike the comrades pictured in *Gassed*, or the soldier in Scott's *Blinded!*, this man has nobody to guide him. Again, Breugel's *The Parable of the Blind Leading the Blind* is brought to mind in its illustration of Christ's statement, 'if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into a ditch'. Although the soldier in Woodville's painting is alone, with no sight to guide him, he leads himself into the trench. Commissioned by the NIB, Woodville's image was sold as one in a set of six postcards to raise money for St. Dunstan's. Although it could in no way be described as realistic, it is extremely unusual amongst war publicity for showing the injury within the context of its happening. Other images in the series of postcards are less explicit, preferring to picture the blinded soldier, either at the site of injury, but cropped and as the focus of the image, or at home. In another Caton Woodville postcard from the series titled *Memories*, a blinded ex-soldier sits alone in a garden surrounded by images of the activities that he is now denied: horse-riding, cricket, rugby, shooting, bike-riding and golf



Fig. 21: Anon (c.1920), 'Come and See', IWM PST 13801.

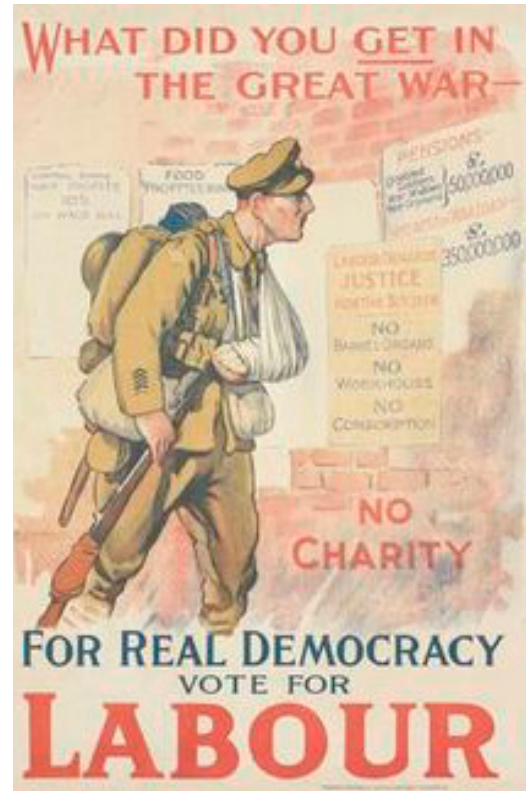


Fig. 22: P. J. Wright (n.d.), Labour Party poster, IWM PST 12195.

(figure 18). The choice of activities is particularly poignant because they are all sports that were traditionally associated with masculinity. The image inspires feelings of pity towards the subject suggesting that he is no longer a complete man. A message remarkably at odds with St. Dunstan's motto of 'Victory Over Blindness'.

Despite catering to soldiers who had acquired any injury as a result of war, California House for Disabled Belgian Soldiers also chose the blinded soldier to represent disability. In both Stan Van Offel's and Armand Massonnet's images for the charity, the text does not imply that the men shown are blind, yet they are instantly recognisable as such (figures 19 and 20). In both, blindness is signified by the outstretched arm and the soldier's use of a cane. In Van Offel's image, the soldier is in the foreground, set against a brightly lit garden, yet his face is shrouded in shadow, preventing the viewers gaze from meeting the soldier's defunct eyes. David Lubin has drawn parallels between images of blinded soldiers, and the penetrating gaze of Kitchener in Alfred Leete's *Kitchener Wants You!*.⁴⁹⁶ Kitchener directly

496 Lubin, *Losing Sight: War, Authority, and Blindness in British and American Visual Cultures*,



Fig. 23: Anon (n.d.), poster advertising a garden party at Erskine House, IWM uncatalogued.

addresses the viewer, by contrast, in both Van Offel's and Massonnett's poster, the soldier's face is hidden, by shadow, and a bandage. This act of looking away prevents the viewer from making contact, and although the agency of looking appears to be with the blinded soldier, the prevention of allowing the viewer to see the site of injury negates him or her from having to do so. It maintains a distance between the man whose body has been shattered in service, and the public for whom he was fighting. It provides the viewer with a safe distance from which to observe injury, allowing the viewer to recognise and contemplate the soldier's blindness and his sense of duty to this nation without having to express the effect that the disability has had on the soldier or the true reasons for his injury.

While blinded soldiers were marked out by their inability to see, they were still expected to be seen. Viewers are invited to look at disability figuratively, through the medium of print,

1914–22', pp. 797–812.

and literally, at craft fairs and exhibitions of wounded soldiers' work. A poster produced by the Ministry of Labour after the war's end invites the viewer to 'Come and See' an exhibition of disabled men and their work at Central Hall, Westminster (figure 21). Public perceptions about the treatment of disabled ex-soldiers were the concern of rehabilitation authorities. As early as 1915, the media began asking questions about provisions for wounded servicemen upon their discharge from the army.⁴⁹⁷ A poster released by the Labour Party in 1919 played on such concerns, showing the image of a wounded soldier in full army uniform asking *What Did You Get in the Great War?* (figure 22). The exhibition at Central Hall, and others of its kind, displayed objects produced by disabled veterans and the men themselves to interested parties. This type of display is similar to the voluntary sector's display of photographs of disabled veterans at work on advertising posters and pamphlets. They work to inform the public that disabled veterans have a place in society as a productive citizen, while simultaneously serving as a symbol of tenacity in the face of adversity. Through the process of display, authorities were able to show that disabled veterans could live productively as contributing citizens. Leaflets produced by the Lord Robert's Memorial fund and St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors are specific in their description of the work and training that disabled ex-soldiers undertook at their institutions, and insistent about the benefits of rehabilitation. An underlined caption in Lord Robert's *The National Tribute* pamphlet reads:

Remember that we provide not for the present only, but for the whole future life of these brave men. We take them as they come, lame and halt, from the battlefield, and make of them efficient, capable workmen; not receivers of charity, but valuable units of a huge industrial and economic scheme.⁴⁹⁸

497 An article in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire Central Advertiser* asked 'What is to become of the disabled soldiers who, returning from the war will be unfitted to follow their ordinary employment?' Anon, 'The Problem of the Future' in *Manchester Courier and Lancashire Central Advertiser* (25 June 1915), p. 6. While the *Newcastle Journal* observed 'Not the least serious problem of the many which now face the government and the country at large is that of providing for the future welfare of soldiers and sailors who are disabled in the war.' Anon, 'For Disabled Soldiers' in *Newcastle Journal* (21 October 1915), p. 4.

498 IWM, *The National Tribute* (The Lord Robert's Memorial Fund), Uncatalogued.

Looking at disabled ex-servicemen also provided the public with a form of charitable entertainment. A poster advertising a Garden Party at Erskine House encourages the viewer to ‘Come and Give Our Limbless Heroes A Happy Day’(see figure 23). Disabled ex-servicemen and work they had produced during rehabilitation were exhibited alongside participatory leisure activities such as donkey rides, bands, stalls, sports activities, side-shows and games. This type of event began during the nineteenth century as a means of raising money for disabled children. Similar events across the country during and in the years after the First World War invited the public to engage in a collective act of looking at disabled veterans. Charity events and exhibitions that publicly displayed the disabled veteran’s body draw comparison with the representation of the disabled ex-servicemen in visual war publicity in the sense of promoting visibility. Writing on the phenomenon of the freak show, Rosemarie Garland Thomas has argued that modernity moved the freak show from the ‘embodiment of wonder to the embodiment of error’.⁴⁹⁹ By the end of the nineteenth



Fig. 24: B. Thomas (1917), poster advertising 'Fag Day', IWM PST 0415.



Fig. 25: B. Bairnsfather (n.d.), poster advertising the Surrey Red Cross, IWM uncatalogued.

499 R. G. Thomas, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1996), p. 13.

century, the 'freak' became so stigmatised that it fell out of favour within popular culture. Yet, Garland Thomas proposes that acts of collectively looking at disabled bodies did not disappear with the freak show, rather it dispersed and transformed into entertainment discourses of circuses, beauty pageants, rock celebrity culture, horror films and vaudeville.⁵⁰⁰ What these events have in common is their invitation that an audience participate in looking at an othered body. Applying a Foucauldian reading, one could speculate that the display of disabled ex-servicemen acted as a visual marker of citizenship in much the same way as the representation of participation in other war activities such as joining the army or economising with food. Such imagery demonstrates to the civilian viewer the notion of sacrifice to a common cause, yet in the case of disabled bodies it is enhanced because the sacrifice is so great. The display of wounded soldiers therefore arguably served two contributions to the notion of patriotic citizenship as represented through war publicity. It reminded the civilian viewer of the greater sacrifice made by soldiers and in doing so, encouraged the viewer to aid the wounded soldiers pictured by participating in the war activities encouraged through such publicity.

OVERCOMING DISABILITY: PICTURING REHABILITATION

Where charity imagery seeks donations of money or time from the viewer, the construction of the wounded soldier as a site of sentimentality is the dominant theme. By contrast, some war publicity, commercial publicity, or material concerned with employment sought to normalise the disabled body. In seeking to normalise the disabled veteran, print publicity draws on popular constructions of British masculinity present in images of able-bodied men. In Bert Thomson's *Fag Day* and the Red Cross' *Old Bill's Made Like New!* the men are cheeky and chirpy (see figures 24 and 25). This type of representation is familiar from examples of commercial advertising such as Sunlight Soap's *Lends a Helping Hand* (figure 9). A 1916 article for the *Newcastle Journal* titled 'The Cheerful Wounded' testified to the apparent 'unfailing cheerfulness' of men who had 'sustained injuries and disablement of

500 Ibid.

any kind'.⁵⁰¹ The article asserts that there is a 'lesson for the civilian' in the cheerfulness of the war wounded. Complaining, according to the article, 'should surely be taboo' if injured servicemen are refraining from such behaviour.⁵⁰² Such imagery draws on pre-war notions of triumph over adversity in the depiction of the disabled body. In these examples, the war-disabled man is presented as stoic, and able to overcome the most difficult hardships of war, whilst retaining a cheery disposition. By 1914, the advertising industry had created experts at the sale of goods to British consumers by means of emotional appeals that stimulated desire. With the inception of the war, the same men were ready to sell Britain a new set of desires based on the notion of service to the nation. Producers of print publicity inculcate values that are designed to raise the consciousness of individuals with regards to being a



Fig. 26: Anon (n.d.), charitable advertisement soliciting donations for wounded soldiers, IWM uncatalogued.

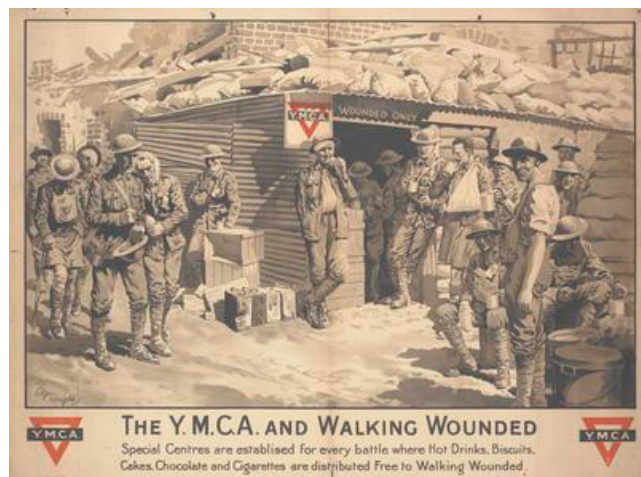


Fig. 27: E. Wright (n.d.), "YMCA and Walking Wounded", IWM PST 13202.

productive citizen. They rely on placing pressure on the viewer to be a self-reflective and self-regulating subject able to make conscious decisions based on moral values. This kind of manipulation of the masses came into being during the early nineteenth century. In 1917,

501 Anon, 'The Cheerful Wounded' in *Newcastle Journal* (24 August 1914), p.4.
502 Ibid.

drawing on the work of William Trotter, French thinker Gustav Le Bon argued that the crowd was far more susceptible to sentiments such as honour and self-sacrifice than they were to reason.⁵⁰³ The image of wounded men returning fresh from the horrors of war, yet remaining in good spirits embodied the type of reaction that makers of war publicity and the British government wanted to see reflected in their citizens. Although advertisers were careful to produce material that would not offend, there had to be an acknowledgement that men were wounded as a result of war.⁵⁰⁴ In Britain, the wounded were often shipped home and as a result, civilians had the opportunity to encounter the reality of war woundedness. In the first year of fighting, 24 per cent of officers and 17 per cent of soldiers of other ranks were wounded.⁵⁰⁵ Between October 1915 and September 1918, between 12 and 17 per cent of non-officer rank soldiers were wounded each year.⁵⁰⁶ Therefore, imagery which normalised wartime woundedness served two important functions. It aimed to provide the public with wounded characters whose example they could replicate in their own behaviour. And it served to provide the public with an opportunity to alleviate negative emotions associated with the level of woundedness through charitable donations. Recalling his experience of wartime publicity, Charles Higham wrote that although events could not be changed, through publicity they could be organised to appeal to the public in a more positive way.⁵⁰⁷ In the Bert Thomas and Bruce Bairnsfather examples, the men are pictured against a plain ground, disassociating their woundedness with the act of acquiring the injury in war (figures 24 and 25). Where men are pictured on the Western Front, for example in *Will You Help These Brave Wounded Men* and *The YMCA and the Walking Wounded*, the images depict scenes of domestic camaraderie a world away from the act of receiving the wound (figures 26 and 27). As in materials such as Thomas's *Fag Day* these images demonstrate the unflinching cheerfulness of injured soldiers. As the WPB report of 1919 noted, the aim of war

503 G. Le Bon, *Psychology of Crowds* (Southampton: Sparkling Books, 2009 [1917]), p. 32.

504 The advertising trade had received criticism since the 1880s for the design and display of posters advertising films, vaudeville acts and 'penny dreadful' publications. Such posters were thought to threaten the moral integrity of the nation. The billposting trade overcame this by setting up a censorship committee and as a result the advertising industry was self-regulating by 1914.

505 Bouke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 33.

506 Ibid.

507 C. Higham, *Advertising: Its Use and Abuse* (London, 1925), p. 12.

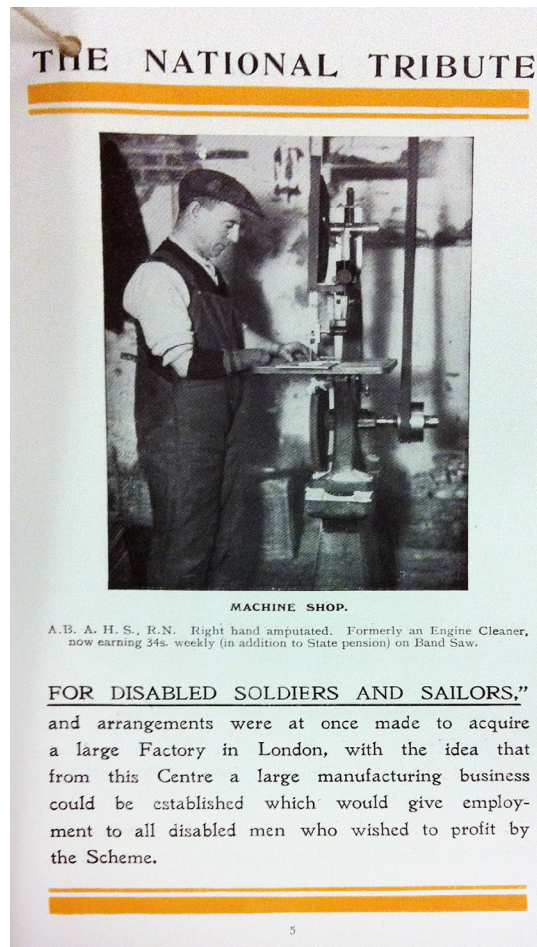


Fig. 28: The Lord Roberts Fund (n.d.), 'The National Tribute', Pamphlet, IWM uncatalogued.

publicity had been to 'stimulate and not depress'.⁵⁰⁸ In normalisation imagery, the wounded soldier is the stalwart hero against whom civilians should regulate their own behaviour.

Recovery was a key theme in pictorial war publicity concerning wounded soldiers. Rejecting the notion that injured and permanently disabled ex-servicemen were doomed to a life of reliance on the charity of others, some organisations such as the Lord Robert's Memorial Fund and St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Solders and Sailors called for the physical and social rehabilitation of wounded veterans, with the goal of returning them as far as possible to their pre-war lives. In Britain, the reintegration of ex-servicemen with permanent disabilities proceeded primarily through voluntary or philanthropic efforts. Despite the promise of a country 'fit for heroes', the British state sought to limit obligations to those

508 TNA, 'Parliamentary Recruitment Committee: Report on the Work of the Committee', 1915-16, WO 106/367.

wounded in war, and only a modest compensation was offered. Most notably, successive British governments proved reluctant to provide programmes that gave disabled soldiers a chance to gain training and employment. More than 750,000 men returned from the war with a permanent disability but by the early 1920s the British state had provided training programmes for only 13,000 of them and by the mid 1920s the programmes were stopped altogether.⁵⁰⁹ Pleading fiscal stringency, the state left the task of rehabilitating disabled ex-servicemen to philanthropy and the public. The Lord Roberts' Workshop Fund was one of the most prominent examples of a rehabilitation organisation. Founded in 1915 by the Boer War-era Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, the London headquarters of Lord Roberts' Workshop and ten regional branches produced furniture, toys and metalwork. Lord Roberts' trainees were guaranteed permanent employment in the shops; the highest skilled among them received union wages. By 1918, Lord Roberts employed a total of 1605 men, relying on donations to make up the difference between salaries and the diminished working capacity of their employees. Pamphlets produced to advertise the work of the fund favoured black and white photography. The choice of this medium is worth noting. The camera is an instrument of evidence. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the coupling of evidence and photography was bound up with the emergence of new practices of observation, record-keeping and documentation.⁵¹⁰ Medical, public health and rehabilitation discourse had begun to rely on photography to justify their practices and to support their claims of expertise, a seemingly appropriate manner of showcasing the work of the Lord Roberts workshops. The images featured in the promotional pamphlet show groups of men, either posed, or at work in one of the organisation's factories. The contextual information given in the text details the work of the Lord Robert's Memorial Fund. The captions accompanying the photographs state the name of the subject, the extent of his injury, his role in the factory and his earnings (figure 28). The combination of the apparently realistic image with the overtly direct explanation, contrasts sharply with the sentimental intangibility of the images discussed in the first half of this chapter. Where

509 D. Cohen, *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939*, p. 4.

510 J. Tagg, *The burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009 [1988]), p. 2.

sentimental imagery pictured the injured as dependent; shown in a reclining position or receiving bodily support, these men are posed to highlight their bodily independence, their ability to work, and care for themselves without the help of others. They are not portrayed as helpless victims, or even icons of courage, they are self-reliant workers unhampered by their injury, triumphing over adversity. Notable in such imagery is a recognition of the disabled body as useful. As figure 28 demonstrates, the photographs have been taken from a distance, and the grainy nature of black and white photography makes the details difficult to establish. This particular image shows a man who has had his hand amputated as a consequence of a war injury. He is working on a band saw, and the additional information provided in the caption informs the viewer that this man was formerly an engine cleaner, and

Will you help the National Tribute to Lord Roberts ?

The £500,000 NATIONAL TRIBUTE FUND TO PERMANENTLY ENDOW The Lord Roberts' Memorial Workshops throughout the Country where men permanently disabled on active service can work and earn an honest living.

The Lord Roberts' Memorial Workshops
is the National and most practical way of finding work at good wages for those who have fought for us and have the right to work again. It is a sound business concern—not a charity.

No cause could be more worthy of your support and no tribute to our Greatest Soldier could be more practical.

£20,740 has been paid in wages to disabled men and dependents during 1916. There has been a trade turnover of

£48,583 during 1916. These figures speak for themselves and show the great practical utility of the scheme.

1,029 badly disabled men have already been admitted to the Workshops.

Will you send in a donation to-day ?

THE TRIBUTE FUND is now nearly *half* completed, thanks to the generosity of tens of thousands of people throughout the world who loved Lord Roberts and appreciate this sound tribute to his memory. It is hoped to complete the Fund this year. Will those who are helping please do their best in organizing entertainments and collections, and, if the public will aid this most worthy cause by subscribing generously, the problem of finding work for our soldiers or sailors permanently disabled on active service will be partially solved.

EVERY penny that you give goes to swell the capital sum that can make these Workshops self-supporting by providing them with the plant and premises which are as necessary in this case as they are to any ordinary manufacturing concern. NO RED TAPE, NO DELAY. The man starts at £1 per week, and keeps every penny of his pension. What you give does not merely alleviate a passing phase of distress; it helps to make safe and happy the future of our disabled men now and after the war.

Make Cheques payable to Major-General The Lord Chylesmore, K.C.V.O., Chairman, The Lord Roberts' Memorial Fund, 122, Brompton Road, London, S.W.1.

Factories at London, Plymouth, Brighton, Colchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Liverpool, Bradford, Newcastle, Edinburgh & Belfast.

Major-General The Lord Chylesmore, K.C.V.O., Chairman.
Rt. Hon. Sir Fredk. Milner, Bart., P.C., Hon. Treasurer.
Major Tudor Craig, Comptroller.
Charles Frederick Hildam, Honorary Appeal Organizer.

SEND A DONATION TO-DAY PLEASE.

The Pictures show disabled men at work in the shops. Come and see them at work it will do you good.

Fig. 29: Anon (n.d.), advertisement for the Lord Roberts Fund, IWM uncatalogued.

that he is now earning 34s weekly in addition to his state pension. Because photographs are widely accepted as objective records, they carry what John Taylor terms, the ‘cool authority of record’.⁵¹¹ Yet what we know about this man is only what is presented to us in this image. The rest, the difficulties he may have had in learning to operate machinery with one hand, the reaction of his family to his new state, his own grappling with coming to terms with his disability, is left to the imagination. Not only is the image shot from a distance, but it keeps the viewer at a distance. Moreover, although they would have played a crucial role in the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers women are notably absent from publicity concerned with the employment of disabled veterans. John Kinder has argued that this absence is crucial to the success of rehabilitation publicity material, as it severs the popular association between wartime injury and physical dependency.⁵¹² Because the men are pictured in the male sphere of the industrial workplace they continue to be recognised as patriotic citizens. Unlike those men presented as sites of sentimentality, they are reinserting into the traditional gendered hierarchy of British society.

Illustrations for the Lord Robert’s memorial fund are pictured along similar lines to the photographic posters and pamphlets. Sentimentality is rejected as the men are presented labouring in the workshop. The men are pictured in the male sphere of the industrial workplace; reinserted into the traditional gendered hierarchy of British society. Picturing the men as independent citizens, able to earn a living and contribute to society is in line with individualist ideology. Self-reliance is valued, as the text on a poster titled *Will You Help?* asserts, the Lord Roberts’ Memorial Fund viewed itself as ‘a sound business concern – not a charity’ (figure 29). Work is key to transforming helpless soldiers into independent providers. With the increase in industry, the male ability to work long hours and discipline their movements was tied to their economic viability and ultimately their masculinity. The Lord Roberts’ Workshops appear to offer the disabled soldier a secure future, the opportunity

511 J. Taylor, *War Photograph: Realism in the British Press* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 30.

512 Kinder, ‘Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier’s Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War One’, p. 354.

to be recognised not as a suffering body, but as an independent worker. However, the images are careful in how to display the wounded. So while this material appears to liberate the injured soldier from the disabling experience of war, they ultimately work to keep the viewers fear of limbless bodies at bay. David Gerber has identified this as a type of ‘aggressive normalisation’, whereby physical restoration was key to a return to pre-war life.⁵¹³ There is an inherent contradiction in presenting permanently disabled ex-servicemen as ‘normalised’, while campaigning on their behalf. This claim to normality is untenable because soldiers unaffected by a physical or psychological disability are unlikely to be dependent on the benevolence of others. This approach works to separate the disabled veteran from his able-bodied counterpart and from disabled civilians who lacked such campaigning on their part.

CONCLUSION

The materials discussed in this chapter were not the only sites for displaying the wounded soldier’s body in Britain. It appeared in popular film, newspapers and veterans campaigns, however, even in these other materials, under conditions of censorship, and fear of offence, disabled soldiers were portrayed according to a similar rhetoric. Articulations of war woundedness in print media were shaped by discourses of patriotic citizenship found elsewhere in pictorial publicity during the First World War. Previous to 1914, the representation of the disabled male veteran had been dominated by the notion of the beggar-cripple. However, during the war, his image was used to encourage certain behaviours in civilian viewers. Disabled soldiers were tragic victims in need of public sympathy, or independent workers whose adaption to post-war life served as a hopeful beacon to others and a symbol of British resilience and the embodiment of good citizenship. No one group exercised authority over the types of imagery displayed, rather, such imagery was adopted by a variety of organisations with often divergent interests.

War publicity produced by these bodies narrate the persistent regulation of the war-

513 Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History*, p. 8.

wounded body as a site for ideological contestation. They are highly sanitised, epitomising the separation between rhetoric and reality in a nation at war. They came to represent the type of injuries sustained by soldiers. Where a physical injury could be signified by a bandage, the psychological wounds suffered by mass numbers could not be visualised, and consequently took a back seat in First World War visual culture. Above all, the images demonstrate the inability of disabled soldiers to have agency over their own public image. They were shown for the consumption of the non-disabled, and their image was shaped by the purpose of the publicity material upon which they were displayed. While the work of disability scholars has challenged the hegemony of traditional conventions about disabled soldiers, and indeed all disabled people in an attempt to construct them not as icons or cultural markers, but as actual people, irrespective of bodily impairment, the enduring legacy and contemporary popularity of First World War imagery, at least in visual culture, continues to structure how disabled soldiers are displayed in popular imagery.

The examples of pictorial publicity presented in this chapter present a series of narratives and iconographies about masculinity, soldiering and disability that were already established within society. They identify the wounded soldier as a model citizen against whom other civilians in society should regulate their own behaviour. Yet they also represent new ways of seeing disability. The need to maintain morale for civilians facing the catastrophic effect of war on soldier's bodies and the self-regulation of the advertising industry contributed to the production of images that represented the disabled body as useful. Rehabilitation imagery rejected the notion that disabled ex-soldiers were doomed to a life of reliance on the charity of others. With physical and social rehabilitation, they could be contributing citizens. While as this chapter has discussed, such 'normalising' of the disabled body is contestable because such imagery ultimately presents his ability to be rehabilitated as dependent on charity it also offered new ways of seeing the disabled body as able.

To simplify a varied and complex set of findings, this research has indicated that above all else pictorial publicity drew on discourses associated with the concept of patriotic citizenship in order to manufacture consent for the war from the British public. In the process of producing visual languages of citizenship that would appeal to a modern mass audience, advertisers looked both to the past and the future. As this research has demonstrated, image makers drew on existing visual languages of persuasion to present messages that were recognisable to the public. Meanwhile the conditions of a modern war requiring the participation of entire nations facilitated the recognition and legitimisation of previously under-recognised sections of society in new ways. This conclusion intends to identify the strands of overlapping themes, discourse and silences that weaved their way throughout British pictorial publicity.

This research contributes to discussions in: First World War studies, the analysis of propaganda, the analysis of First World War visual culture and discussions of patriotism and citizenship. Though many scholars have shown an interest in posters of the First World War, visually arresting collections of images accompanied by little or no analysis make up the majority of publications.⁵¹⁴ Where historians analyse First World War publicity, the focus either remains on a curated selection of posters which are used to analyse a particular narrative of the war, or a select few posters which are utilised as ‘evidence’ of particular arguments about the propaganda of war.⁵¹⁵ While such works offer useful insights into the workings of propaganda during times of national crisis, they are often too narrow in their analysis focusing on one or two distinct narratives such as recruiting campaigns or atrocity propaganda. In addition they focus on the medium of the officially produced poster, omitting charitable and commercially produced pictorial publicity and thereby ignoring the

514 See discussion in introduction, pp. 10-14 and pp. 23-4.

515 Ibid.

wider visual languages present in the publicity. Similarly, as discussed in the methodology section of this study, aesthetic-led scholars have focused on exceptional examples of design, arguably to the detriment of considering their broader context. While some examples of pictorial publicity from the First World War were designed by exceptional artists and illustrators, many were designed anonymously by advertising and printing agencies. Publicity is designed for mass-consumption, as such, when extracting meaning from the visual languages they produce, consideration must be given to how they were circulated and consumed within a wider world.

This study provides research and methodological tools for analyses of political pictorial print media. In its analysis of the 'War Publicity, supplemented by archival research it set out to examine the meanings that were absorbed and circulated by pictorial publicity during the First World War. It did so by embedding the imagery featured on pictorial publicity within its discursive context. Combining a qualitative approach to publicity and including material from official, charitable and commercial campaigns has enabled this research to identify and analyse some of the narratives and layered meanings employed by image makers to stimulate support for British war aims, and to establish how pictorial publicity came to visually embody the notion of patriotic citizenship. Quantitative visual analysis enabled the identification of discursive formations present within the 'War Publicity' collection, and the thematic areas identified during this process informed the framework of this thesis. It is important to note that strands of overlapping information identified during the qualitative process are not the only themes present within pictorial publicity of the First World War. This study might equally have dedicated entire chapters to the visual languages of femininity and enemy nations. The representation of women and Germany was instead addressed within chapters as elements of the visual discourse of those areas, as the research sought to identify new thematic areas which have received less attention from historians and visual analysts of the period.

Because the images used in this study have been drawn exclusively from the ‘War Publicity’ collection held at IWM, chapter one examined the history of this archive. Drawing on arguments made by Tom Nesmith and Jacques Derrida it argued that in their methods of collating and storing pictorial publicity, staff at IWM have played a significant role in shaping how the collection has been understood. It analysed Lesley Bradley’s collecting habits, concluding that in his non-discriminative approach he managed to preserve a unique collection that testifies to the prevalence of war themes in print media produced between 1914 and 1918. It is because this collection contains material from charitable and commercial interests in addition to official governmental departments that the all-encompassing nature of the visual languages of the First World War can be examined and understood. This chapter further argued that because well-designed posters were elevated to the status of art and accessibly displayed for researchers in the Art Print Room at IWM’s Lambeth Road site, exceptional posters have since been routinely used by scholars as normative examples of First World War pictorial propaganda and publicity. As a consequence, poster design has taken a leading role as an autonomous practice while the historical context and the context in which publicity was seen has been overlooked. Lastly, this chapter provided an analysis of the AHRC funded *Posters of Conflict* project and the consequent *Posters of Conflict: Weapons of Mass Destruction* exhibition. The findings of this analysis identified a turning point in the democratization of access to the ‘War Publicity’ collection. The act of digitising posters and publishing the images on VADS allowed viewers to search through the collection using a multitude of options enabling the multiplicity of visual and textual languages present in pictorial publicity of the First World War to come to light. To date, IWM have not digitised the ephemeral materials that Bradley collected alongside the posters. As this thesis demonstrates, such material is crucial in contextualising the visual languages present in posters. However, as a result of the findings of the *Posters of Conflict* project, and the work contained in this thesis, the collections group at IWM have accepted Richard Slocombe’s proposal to reunite the ‘War Publicity’ collection.

The remaining chapters of this thesis were structured by the thematic case studies that emerged using a quantitative methodological approach. Chapter two explored how discourses of patriotism and citizenship were visualised in pictorial publicity. It argued that producers of pictorial publicity recognised that without the mobilisation of civilian labour, sacrifice and support, the war could not be won. As such, it was necessary to promote the notion of a national community of self-regulating citizens to encourage viewers to serve their nation through participation in war-related activities. It examined how discourses of class harmony, social cohesiveness, common cause, duty and sacrifice played into an overall visual language termed by this thesis as 'patriotic citizenship'. Further to the consideration of how image makers communicated meanings about the necessity for participation in war, chapter 3 examined how the plight of Belgium was utilised as a visual trope to convince British citizens about the necessity of Britain's decision to go to war with Germany. The discourse of Belgium enabled advertisers to promote Britain's participation in war as the necessary action of a moral nation. As such, chapter 3 argued that the war was presented as a battle between good and bad and such discourses rested on using a visual language which specifically highlighted female distress.

The gendered theme continued in chapter four, which considered how concepts of masculinity were established in pictorial publicity and the shape that such concepts took. This chapter maintained that appeals merged the pre-established rhetoric of adventure, militarism and male duty to the nation, with new discourses focused on all-male bonding and collective effort to convince men to support the war by joining the army or the labour force. As in other chapters, languages of participation and common cause continued as key visual tropes.

While chapter four focused on the representation of the healthy male, the last chapter examined how wounded soldiers were visualised in the visual culture of the war. The choice to place this chapter at the end of the thesis was less one of chronological value and more concerned with metaphorical notions of disruptions and continuance. The findings

in chapter five explain how wartime representations of the war-maimed saw the disabled soldier's body elevated from pre-war conceptions of the beggar-cripple to the status of the national hero whose sacrifice should be gratefully emulated by the viewing public. Such imagery disrupted traditional notions of disability and deservedness as emphasis was placed on rehabilitating the war wounded body. The examples of war publicity examined in chapter five narrate the regulation of the disabled body as a site for ideological contestation during the war. Despite being invalided from war, the disabled soldier's body was maintained as the site of sacrifice and duty and used by image makers to convince the public of their own duty as patriotic citizens. The findings of this thesis, represented through moments of overlap and clusters of similarity that threaded each of these thematic areas will be discussed in this conclusion.

Using Foucauldian discourse analysis this study has considered the role of pictorial publicity as a function of power. As was discussed in the theoretical framework section of this study, according to Foucault, power is not a straightforward relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Rather, it must be analysed as something which circulates. For Foucault, 'power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation...Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application.'⁵¹⁶ Power is a system of relations within society and within such relations individuals should not be seen as simply the recipients or 'victims' of power but as the vehicle upon which power can be enacted and resisted.⁵¹⁷ This is particularly applicable to the findings of this research, which has demonstrated how discourses of war were produced and circulated by a range of institutions. By analysing material produced by official, charitable and commercial organisations, this study has found that visual languages present in print media between 1914 and 1918 found commonality in material produced by divergent interests which could benefit from communicating similar narratives concerned with the war. For example, chapter four demonstrated how the discourse

516 M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77* ed. and tr. by C. Gordon (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), p. 98.

517 Ibid.

of masculine camaraderie was visualised in official, commercial and charitable print media. The examples of the commercial company Decca and the charitable organisation The Weekly Dispatch Tobacco Fund were discussed to explain how the act of male bonding was visualised as one of the foundations upon which Britain's success in war rested. Utilising visual structures found in official recruiting posters such as *Jump Aboard* and *Come and Join this Happy Throng*, Decca and The Weekly Dispatch Fund encourage a sense of pride in the aesthetic qualities of the men as a group. Foucault explains how 'the State consists in the codification of a whole number of power relations which render its functioning possible'.⁵¹⁸ Therefore, while commercial interests and charitable organisations could benefit from the sense of authority that came from sharing governmental support for the war, official discourses similarly benefitted from the net-like coverage that visual languages present in the pictorial publicity of non-governmental organisations could confer.

This research further found that such shared rhetoric worked to make certain discourses appear to be natural, as if they were not being presented by governing bodies. For example, as chapter three argued, print publicity produced by charities concerned with Belgian civilians echoed governmental and press rhetoric about supposed German atrocities. Notable writers were employed to lend a sense of legitimacy to arguments made about the behavior of German soldiers in Belgium, and the use of private publishing houses such as the OUP to produce leaflets and pamphlets made it difficult for individuals to question the supposed 'truths' presented about Germany.⁵¹⁹ The use of non-governmental organisations and the voice of 'experts' in presenting the discourses purported by pictorial publicity was a common feature in the print media of the First World War, promoting certain ideas and rhetorics while rendering non-war discourses as invisible. The division between true and false is a practice of discourse. Those in positions of authority, and thus deemed to be 'expert' are considered to be those that can speak the truth. While on the topic of Belgium, notable writers were employed as 'expert', similar techniques were used in other campaigns.

518 Foucault, M., 'Truth and Power' in D. Tallack (ed.), *Critical Theory: A Reader* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 72.

519 See chapter 3, pp. 133-134.

In pictorial publicity relating to food economy, the subject of individual health was employed in the attempt to persuade individuals into employing economic habits at home. The authority of science was conferred to draw attention to the role of eating and drinking in maintaining a healthy body. Such material worked alongside economy campaigns by making statements about the body's food energy requirements. Espousing rhetoric about maintaining good health and the strength to pursue war work, such 'expert' advice provided authoritative evidence to 'back up' pictorial poster campaigns issued by the Ministry of Food. Because information was presented from a range of governmental and non-governmental organisations and supported by 'expert' opinion, the viewer was given the appearance of democratic truth. However, according to the Foucauldian notion of biopower, truth is a function of power because only those statements that are 'true' are circulated whereas those considered to be false are made invisible and relegated to silence.⁵²⁰

In a nation at war, competing views would only serve to undermine established rhetoric, therefore institutions benefitted from presenting shared visual discourses through pictorial publicity. For Foucault, discourse is associated with relations of power.⁵²¹ As in his discussions of power, discourse is not a set of practices which are simply imposed upon the individual.⁵²² Discourse constitutes the way that individuals experience and interpret the world, and the structures that are imposed on their thinking. In the process of thinking about the world, the individual categorises and interprets experiences and events according to certain structures and processes of interpreting. Therefore, read from a Foucauldian point of view, the war was understood through discourses expressed in pictorial publicity. For example, as discussed in chapter three, discourses relating to the invasion of Belgium focused on the effect of those events on female civilians. As such, the German army was framed through discourses which delineated their supposed activities in Belgium as atrocities, and subsequently the British decision to go to war was framed through discourses concerning morality, freedom and

520 M. H. Nadesan, *Governmentality, Biopower and Everyday Life* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 24.

521 Foucault, M., 'Truth and Power' in D. Tallack (ed.), *Critical Theory: A Reader* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 75.

522 Ibid.

democracy. Germany invaded Belgium in the real world, but the way that this event was apprehended and interpreted in pictorial publicity structured the way that the British public thought about and responded to the event.

This research made the argument that power was exercised through the social body using the core message of patriotic citizenship. Patriotic citizenship as expressed in the pictorial publicity of the First World War conflates citizenship and patriotism as inter-dependent and inter-relational. As a visual language it was expressed through print media in the form of visual codes of participation, duty, common cause and sacrifice. While the notion that such codes were present in the propaganda of the First World War is by no means a new argument, patriotic citizenship is different because it demonstrates how such codes worked visually by characterising certain behavioural traits as a requirement of good citizenship. It did so using the technique of appealing to the commonplace rather than the allegorical or abstract. Of equal importance is the notion that patriotic citizenship was all encompassing. One is as likely to encounter this discourse in a commercial advertisement, a charitable leaflet or a poster produced by a non-governmental organisation as in an officially produced poster of war. An example of the technique of patriotic citizenship in practice is a poster produced by the non-governmental National League of Safety which implores 'SHE Keeps the Family to Victory Rations and Prevents Waste'. The image, which contrasts the spectre of the war front with an image of a mother preparing food at home, makes a direct link between the behaviour of the individual and the possibility of national success in war. The contrast technique, which pictures the home front alongside the warfront to make common identity between soldiers and civilians and to emphasise a sense of collective mission was used throughout pictorial publicity campaigns. With the image of her son sitting beside a warship's gun in the background, the act of the domestic servant exercising restriction in the production of food is linked to saving lives at sea by freeing up ships. As a result of war conditions a situation was created whereby patriotism and citizenship were merged in their representation of everyday acts of prescribed forms of war participation. Citizenship expressed through the civic duty to abide by voluntary rationing restrictions and the moral

duty to aid a fellow civilian is inextricably linked with the national duty to contribute to the war effort. It works by placing pressure on the individual to be a self-regulating and self-governing citizen and does so by producing imagery which draws on pre-established contexts and longer term discourses already present in society.

Acts of participating in war-related activities such as economising, donating money or goods to war charities, joining the army or joining the labour force were drawn under increasing observation and became fused with civilian morale and social cohesiveness. Key contributors in society were given roles in pictorial publicity and recreated as model citizens. An officially produced poster discussed in chapter two, embodied the serviceman, the industrial worker, the female munitions worker, the nurse and the boy scout as the symbols of Britain's war effort. The citizen-qualities expressed in the image: hard work, participation, duty, sacrifice and national loyalty work to reflect the type of citizen image-makers wish to see replicated in society. On the periphery of this particular example is the non-citizen subject. Rarely represented, they embody the invisible strand in pictorial publicity. This is expressed in *Are You in This?* as the loafer: the young man unwilling to 'do his bit' to aid the national cause, elsewhere in society he might be the conscientious objector, the unmarried young woman unwilling to work for the war effort or the war profiteer. As the type of citizenry unwilling to comply with governing bodies, they are largely rendered invisible and unrecognised in the visual landscape of pictorial publicity.

In the visual language of patriotic citizenship, the soldier represented the primary model citizen against whom others should regulate their own behaviour. As chapter four demonstrated, the notion of participation had a double-sided effect in the representation of soldiers. Paralleling the economy and workforce campaigns discussed in chapter two, material produced to encourage men to join the army focused on collective need. Romantic visualisations of adventure, all-male bonding, group camaraderie and collective endeavor were employed to coerce men into participation. Value was placed on the sense of belonging to a collective national group and such imagery was reiterated throughout official, charitable

and commercial material. One was equally likely to encounter a scene of shared soldiering experience on an advertisement for Decca gramophones as on a recruiting poster. Yet equally, such participation-imagery served to remind civilian viewers of the sacrifice of soldiers. By disrupting his home life to serve the national need, the soldier meets all of the requirements expected of a good patriotic citizen. Civilian viewers were expected to emulate this commitment by aiding the effort at home.

What is interesting about the rhetoric of patriotic citizenship is that acts of citizenship could be extended to encompass the international community or those sections of society such as the disabled who had previously gone unrecognised as citizens but only insofar as it could be seen to benefit the war effort. In the early stages of war when the public needed to be convinced of Britain's supposed moral obligation to Belgium, the Belgian people were presented as 'brothers-in arms' under the common flag of a sacred cause. Pictorial publicity worked to identify similarities between the two nations in order to encourage acts of citizenship towards a non-British community whilst at the same time stressing Britain's moral obligation to aid the smaller nation. The rhetoric of morality threaded throughout the 'Save Belgium' campaigns addressing the viewer as a dutiful citizen in order to encourage both intangible and tangible support for the war.

Such rhetoric similarly worked later in the war to encourage dutiful citizens to support war wounded soldiers. The discourse of woundedness in pictorial publicity subscribed to two overarching discursive formations which focused on the body as a site of sentimentality or the wounded man as the subject of rehabilitation. Both ultimately served the purpose of patriotic citizenship. In articulations of the wounded soldier as a figure of pity and sacrifice attention is drawn to his willingness to suffer for the nation. Yet in the visual language of the disabled soldier as a rehabilitated contributing member of society, he represented triumph over adversity and the embodiment of a patriotic citizen. Both discourses served to encourage the same level of commitment and sacrifice in the civilian viewer.

The imaging of the war-maimed body as able to contribute to society is representative of a wider trend in First World War publicity: the official or public legitimisation of previously under-recognised sections of society. Previous to 1914 the depiction of the disabled body had been largely reduced to the image of the beggar-cripple or the disabled child. Yet the number of returning soldiers injured or disabled as a result of war necessitated new forms of representation which offered new ways of seeing the disabled body as productive and useful. In material produced for the Lord Roberts Fund men were pictured continuing their contribution to society as they worked in factories, while in commercial material the injured man was glamourised, the visual marker of his war wound used to lend legitimacy to the consumerist act of purchasing goods. Such representations were arguably short-lived, only enabled by the war-maimed person's own citizen-identity as a soldier. Yet as in the representation of the working classes and women, what is notable is that these sections of society were recognised in advertising and publicity before they were recognised within wider society.

What is important to note, is that such recognition did not lend agency to the war-disabled because representations were only used to serve the purpose of the advertiser. Similar advertising motivations influenced the increased recognition of women and the working class. It benefitted governing bodies concerned with the war effort to stress class harmony and cohesion. To return to the example of 'crime posters' discussed in chapter two, there was a clear recognition by Hedley Le Bas that campaigns for increased economy would not work if the wealthier classes did not also make sacrifices. The ideological subordination of class difference also benefitted the government during recruiting campaigns. By implying a consciousness of masculinity, rather than class, as a binding trope in society, image-makers could emphasise collective participation for the national cause. This thesis has demonstrated how such techniques also served to widen the aesthetic recognition of the male worker. In the PRC poster *We're Both Needed To Serve The Guns* the male labourer is presented as one of the lynchpins of society. Visually strong and muscular, his work is shown to be equally as crucial as soldiering to the war effort. Such images arguably represent a world turned upside

down. In the publicity, his participation and his willingness to tangibly contribute to the war effort as a patriotic citizen, allowing him to be presented as a more upstanding member of society than the wealthier motor-car riding classes shamed in the 'crime posters'.

The representation and recognition of women in First World War pictorial publicity was marked by contrast and conflict. Generated by the need for civilian workers, the war provided the conditions which allowed for new constructions of femininity as women were recognised as useful, productive citizens. Yet at the same time, women were presented as helpless objects of pity in material relating to Belgium. Chapter two discussed how the feminine activity of preparing food was reconstructed as war work. This enabled a new recognition of the working class woman as a crucial member of society. Similarly, as a result of changes in female employment, traditional constructions of femininity were challenged as women were presented working in traditionally male domains. With an increased income, women were enlivened as consumers and recognised as such in print publicity. As in the recognition of the disabled body, it is important to recognise the limitations in inroads made in female representation as a result of war. Representations were complex. While Quakers Oats and Vinolia were imaging women as war workers the aesthetic is undeniably feminine. There is a recognition that such circumstances are short-lived as Vinolia hand cream reminds the viewer not to lose her femininity. The challenge to traditional hegemony is limited because it fails to contend normative gender roles.

Within considerations of the workings of power through pictorial publicity, the chapters in this thesis have also considered the role of institutional discourses and their impact upon the body. Foucault claims that discursive formations impact upon the body because they are the site on which discursive pressures are enacted and contested.⁵²³ On the relationship between pictorial publicity and the viewer, this study has argued that by characterising certain visible behavioural traits as favourable, imagery worked to act on the body by encouraging

523 S. Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 83.

‘docile bodies’ of citizens who exhibited the characteristics preferable for a society at war. Chapter two discussed how ‘crime posters’ such as *To Dress extravagantly in Wartime is not Only Bad Form* and *Don’t Use a Motor Car for Pleasure* worked by making discouraged behaviour visible. The display of direct orders through war publicity allowed members of the public to display their support for the war through compliance. Individuals who defied such orders were clearly visible: their non-compliance marked on the body as an identifier of the non-patriotic citizen. Such use of visibility as a material marker of patriotic citizenship was exemplified in material relating to wounded soldiers. Chapter five demonstrated how the war-maimed body was routinely appropriated by war publicity to coerce British civilians into supporting the war. In articulations of the wounded soldier as a figure of pity and sacrifice attention is drawn to his willingness to suffer for the nation. The visual markers of injury: the cane and the bandage, acted as a material marker of patriotic citizenship and the soldier’s commitment to Britain’s war efforts.

In economy campaigns the process of taking food into the body was regulated using the authority of science. Pictorial publicity shared rhetoric about what constituted a healthy diet to encourage civilians to eat less food. War labour and everyday life were merged as nutritional content and serving size was examined in the publicity to demonstrate how much energy was required for war workers. The act of eating became a moral issue as producers of publicity drew on the discourse of imperial citizenship, which linked the health of the population with the health of the nation to link efficiency through work and physicality with the deeper virtues of discipline, temperance and morality. As in other campaigns, commercial interests were quick to adopt the authority that support for the war could confer, as Quaker’s Oats and Fry’s Cocoa appropriated the visual language of official campaigns to sell goods.

For Foucault, such regulation of the body was enacted from the nineteenth century, a period that witnessed increasing observations, surveying and recording of the population with the

effect of tightening control on the disciplinary regime.⁵²⁴ It was during this period that the view of the population as a whole, or as a singular being became popular. The findings of this thesis demonstrate how this notion of the population as collective entity was employed in recruiting campaigns which placed value on the aesthetic qualities of men pictured as a group. Posters such as *Step Into Your Place* and *Line Up Boys!* encourage a sense of cohesion and collective effort using the emotional affect of rhythmic movement. Lisa Blackman observes how disciplinary power acts on and through self-forming practices of an individual so that the individual comes to want certain ways of being for themselves.⁵²⁵ By displaying groups of men moving in time together, the image appeals to the viewer through collective ritual. To return to the notion of visibility and invisibility in discourses present in pictorial publicity, the implication is that the individual who is not part of the collective is alone and unable to participate in the cohesion of fellow feeling with his countrymen. As in appeals to economise with food, such campaigns work by appealing to the commonplace over abstract nationalistic responsibility so that the viewer comes to want to comply with such coercions.

This research has generated extensive findings in areas that are under-examined by scholars of the First World War. By viewing and analysing the 'War Publicity' collection as a mass, major visual languages present in the material have surfaced. It further offers a practical model for a new methodological approach and a new attitude to looking at pictorial publicity. In this period of commemoration, the visual culture of the First World War is arguably more present than ever before. Ranging from the advertising of centenary exhibitions to selling books, ephemera and memorabilia in shops, the imagery remains as arresting as it ever was. Understanding the pictorial themes in the everyday visual culture of the war introduces a way of looking at pictorial publicity that might help us to understand why we are drawn to particular images, and how they work to persuade and seduce us.

524 S. Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 83.

525 L. Blackman, *The Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), p. 55.

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**I: Interview with James Aulich, Professor of Visual Culture at MIRIAD, MMU,
18th February 2015**

Leanne Green (L): If we just start first with how the *Posters of Conflict* project came about.

James Aulich (J): By accident. Over the years, I'd done exhibitions with the City Art Gallery. One was about the Falklands War called the Falklands Factor, and that was an initial point of contact with the collections at the Imperial War Museum. Subsequently, I did this long, very large project with a colleague in Czech Republic about Communist posters in post-war Europe and we had this exhibition that we were toting around, and nobody wanted it in the early 90s, Communism was a hard sell in the early 90s, and so, you put together these exhibition packs and the Imperial War Museum showed some interest much to my surprise because I didn't think it would be within their brief. But they assured me it was because it was Cold War, conflict. And so, the exhibition, or part of the exhibition went to the Imperial War Museum. Now during the course of putting that on, and all that sort of business, I was walking past Angela Waites desk in her office, and she was really cross, because the museum was no longer supporting her bid to the lottery fund to catalogue and digitise the poster collection. And so she was telling me about this, and I happened some days before, to be looking at the AHRC site, as it was then, where they were advertising a call out for a resource enhancement scheme. So I said to Angela "I think I can help you here". So she gave me a copy of the lottery bid which was no longer being supported by the museum, and I think, I worked with Kathleen for a about six months on this bid. We costed in tea breaks and everything, it was a real work of art I think, and we got £300,000. So where did the exhibition originate from, well it originated from that project to digitise and put on the web all of the posters. It wasn't enough money to do all of the posters but we did a substantial amount. We didn't do, we did all of the First World War stuff, and we didn't do American and Russian post-war stuff because we thought that would make a second phase

of the Cold War, but we did World War One and World War Two. And the pay off for me was to lead the curation of the poster exhibition.

L: Right, so if we stick with *Posters of Conflict*, how were the posters stored? Were the posters stored in the print room?

J: There was a select collection of posters in the print room. It's all changed now but they used to be in those steel cabinets. But the bulk of the material was down in Duxford.

L: So was that your first chance to see the Proclamations side of the Bradley collection?

Well that was just the posters that were kept in the decontamination chamber, and the posters there were quite well kept. They were largely uncatalogued but they weren't at risk, because Angela and Mike Moody had kind of rescued it in the 70s, when the story was they were using posters to wrap other exhibits.

L: What was your first engagement with the 'Proclamations' side of the Bradley collection?

J: Well that came on much later, because it was a big project and it last three years and I was going down to Duxford once every month, six weeks or so. And I was getting more and more interested in that interface between propaganda and publicity so I was being drawn more and more towards the showcards, and that incidental ephemera which they've got there. Which eventually led to going to the barracks where the 'Proclamations' were. Which was then in the Department of Printed Books or something.'

L: So they didn't know what they had, that this had all belonged to one collection?

J: No, they were unaware they had one big collection. I think they were aware that stuff had been separated out, but they weren't aware of this overall early project. And so I challenged the person and said, "you can't throw that stuff away". And she said "well it's available elsewhere." So I said "Well, yeah you can go to the Newspaper Library and find those

advertises if you know where to look.” And here it was altogether, a fantastic resource. And basically the badly conserved stuff was being dumped, and the stuff that was still ok was being kept. But I think from that point on they were very much more careful, because I then started to make my discoveries about the collection better known within the museum. Because it immediately struck me, what a fantastic idea it would be to reconstitute it in some way. And presumably there were tons of foreign newspapers delivered and cartoons, I don’t know what happened to them.

L: The cartoons?

J: Yeah.

L: They’re all in their own plan chest now. The ones that have been cut out, not full newspapers.

J: No.

L: But the cartoons that have been cut out and mounted on board, they’re all in a plan chest.

J: So that was the main thing. I’ve always regarded that as being my major contribution to the history of that collection. Reestablishing its history.

L: So realising that it had once all belonged to one collection?

J: Yeah, it had that specific purpose, from Bradley’s correspondence, as being a record of the war for future generations and a resource for advertisers.

L: So, at what point during *Posters of Conflict* was this? When you realized that these posters had been part of a larger collection.

J: I can't remember but it would have been relatively early on, because it would have emerged from me going through the correspondence which Kathleen referred me to. All those folders outside her office.

L: The letters he sent asking for stuff?

J: Yeah. Although it did take me a year or eighteen months to get through all the letters.

L: So you found out that they're part of this other collection, and then separate from that you do *Posters of Conflict*, and then you decide that you want to put on an exhibition? Which is *Weapons of Mass Communication*?

J: Yeah, well I think we did a proposal and that accepted. It was quite anxious times, because I was obviously very keen to have the exhibition, yet it was very "maybe, yes the next, well maybe not the day after".

L: So if we talk about the exhibition, so you have the exhibition accepted, what did you originally conceive the exhibition to be? What did you think it was going to be about?

J: What I wanted to do, I was aware it was important in some ways, that it should be a smash hit because of the nature of the institution, the fact that it's in the middle of London. But secondly I think my ambition was to try and include some more humdrum material that more people would have been more familiar with. Which has always been my beef with curators because they always want to show the best, and I always want to show the stuff that people actually saw.

L: So the exception doesn't become the norm?

J: yeah, which is what the effect of the posters in the print room did. They established a kind of canon. While there was all that stuff in Duxford that was forgotten about.

L: So tell me about the process of making curatorial decisions.

J: Well that was quite interesting if not a little chaotic. We had, it was all online by then, or at least it had all being photographed, or at least as much as we were going to photograph. And what we did, at great expense, it was a major part of the exhibition budget, was to print out hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of posters in A4 in colour and myself, Richard, Kathleen and sometimes Mike but mostly not would then kind of adjudicate as it were, we'd categorise them into whatever the schema was that we used. It was by nation and by period simultaneously, if memory serves. So you'd have First World War and all the combatants, and Spanish Civil War and so on. And so we, it was, you know we had a large combined knowledge of the collection. Richard of course had been employed on the project so he had an intimate knowledge of what was being photographed because he was there doing it in a sense, cataloguing it as it was happening. Mike has a very important perspective on things but I think he felt alienated from the whole procedure because his approaches were very different to mine, you know, he was very keen on print and the nature of print as a medium and so on and so forth, whereas I was coming at it from a very different visual cultural angle. He had an immense knowledge which was lost when he died. He knew a great deal about printing houses, why you would get a certain typeface and certain arrangements according to what was available at the time, the technical aspect about which I know nothing. So I've forgotten where we were going with that.

L: We were talking about how you chose certain materials to include in the exhibition.

J: Yeah, Richard had worked on the project from the start. There was myself who'd followed it very closely but hadn't actually handled and photographed the stuff, or catalogued it. Kathleen was there and she was in a comparable role to myself, and Mike would come in and out and he at times, would insist.

L: On certain posters being included?

J: Yeah, so there wasn't, it wasn't systematic in any way whatsoever. It was a very organic process.

L: Right, so what were the themes that you ascribed to the material?

J: I can't remember now. They're in the book, the book is essentially the exhibition.

L: Do you remember at all how you came up with the themes?

J: Well that must have been me.

L: Richard indicated that it was you in his interview.

J: They grew out of my knowledge of the posters and their historical contexts and it probably mirrored the approach that I took with the Communist posters. Similarly dealing with thousands of posters and how do you choose one and not another. I don't know how, I don't know if there is a real answer to that.

L: So the exhibition is on, do you know if it was well received by the public?

J: Yeah, it was. It was covered extensively on the radio particularly, less so on television but it also manifested itself in a lot of popular newspapers where it wouldn't be a review as such but it would be a big double page spread of reproductions of the poster and things like that. What was interesting from a curatorial point of view, having done the project and subsequently worked on the exhibition for I don't know how long it would be, I'd have to look in my diary. It was great, it was like having another place of work, and we'd enjoy ourselves and do what we were doing, and there came a moment, as the exhibition

approached when the museum publicity machine took over, and suddenly I was there and everything was happening around me and I had no control over it anymore, it wasn't mine. It had gone.

L: The exhibition?

J: Yeah.

L: And did that affect how the exhibition looked?

J: Not really, there were lots of problems insofar as we had to use the installation that had been used for the Lawrence of Arabia exhibition which had preceded it, because the museum didn't have the money to put in a new installation. Which was a bit of a drawback because the walls were on at funny angles and stuff like that. Which in itself must have in part determined what posters we could put up and those we couldn't. Because you'd have a wall, and that would be the section for so and so, and maybe there would have been stuff that you'd have put up there if it had been a more sensible shape, or if there had been more space.

L: At any point did you think about including any of the material from the Printed Books side of the Bradley collection as it was then?

J: On one of the early visits to the Printed Books down in Duxford, going through the plan chests, just out of curiosity really and found those scrapyard posters. They were in the 'Proclamation' collection, they were folded, so whether they had been missed when the collection was broken up I don't know.

J: Right, the themes, when I was thinking about the exhibition there were three things preeminent in my mind. One was that you've got a collection here that is of a certain kind, and the great body of the material is basically First World War, everything else is a bit of

an add-on.

L: Why do you think everything else is an add-on?

J: because it wasn't consistently collected, it was a matter of the museum gratefully receiving what they could get for nothing basically.

L: So it took Bradley to spearhead that initial...

J: Yeah, well Bradley was working on it until the early 20s and then it was a very intermittent affair, it fell to the museum to take the Ministry of Information stuff in the Second World War, the photography and stuff because by then it seemed to be the logical place for it to rest, rather than the museum actively collecting it. Subsequently in the, since Angela Waite and Mike Moody's day, they made efforts to collect stuff where it was appropriate and to keep it up to date which is very much in line with Angela's role in choosing the artists who would go on some of our expeditionary campaigns abroad as war artists, she was on that committee. So she had this great interest in the contemporary. So, one thing was to give a representative sample of the collection, which then resulted in one of the criticisms that was made of it, that it was heavily weighted towards the First World War, well, yes it would be because that's what it was. Secondly, one wanted to present as far as one was able within the remit of the collection, a survey of war propaganda posters during the Twentieth Century. Of course the idea of war itself was very loosely defined particularly when you move more into the present, because there's a lot of CND stuff because of the Cold War. And thirdly, I wanted this, the book, to function as something of a reference, that you turn to, for people to use you know, in that sense it is one of a few books of this kind, nearly all of them based on different collections. And at the beginning I was very keen to, in the first chapter, to give an overview of my own fascinations with the relationships between propaganda and publicity and advertising, and secondly to give an indication of how the posters produced the meanings that they had. I'm of the view that those meanings were institutionally generated, they're not generated by the poster in and of itself. As you can see, it is First World War, Second World War, inter-war, Cold War and new world order. One of

the things that came out of the study was the fact that, and the reason why it is categorized by nation, was in fact they are clearly distinguishable as products of individual nations. And I think that's almost entirely down to the fact that these are, were produced by the advertising trade in liaison with the publishers and so on, but they were all at different stages of development in the different countries, so the product worked in different ways as a result of that. So in Germany you had this kind of command economy whereas in Britain there was a very much more open ended thing where the government relied on the advertising people to produce the imagery rather than them stipulating on what it should be like, which is probably the way that it worked in Germany and so on. In France it was different again because of the role the academies played in the training of artists and so on. So that seemed necessary. And then at the end of the First World War there was this amazing efflorescence in Germany and Austria of some of the most interesting posters, which I think have ever been made anywhere, so it seemed important to be able to include those.

L: So we got onto this talking about whether you included any of the 'Proclamations' Bradley collection in the exhibition, and it was just that one poster that you found?

J: Yeah the two scrap metal posters yeah.

**II: Interview with Richard Slocombe, Senior Curator of Art, IWM,
13th February 2015**

L: How did the *Weapons of Mass Communication* exhibition come about?

R: It was really a product of the *Posters of Conflict* project which was to digitise and document the poster collection held at Duxford. So as part of that, which also incorporated the primary collection held at the main museum site on Lambeth Road. So yeah, it was basically a culmination of that and, because it really opened up the collection and enabled us to look at the poster collection and poster propaganda in a new way essentially and gave us an awful lot more posters to select from.

L: Ok, and how did *Posters of* come about? Was that from a pot of funding?

R: Yes. Well, *Posters of Conflict* was an AHRC funded project which MIRIAD, James Aulich's department at Manchester Met University, basically instigated in collaboration with the Art Department and there wasn't actually, that was just there to fulfill the project to digitise and catalogue it [the poster collection]. What was once part of a scheme called the Resource Enhancement Grant. Also the actual exhibition itself was just funded by the museum, and James Aulich was brought in to curate the show essentially, as the lead curator.

L: Ok, and did you work at IWM when *Posters of Conflict* started?

R: Yes, I began as a Documentation Officer with that project. So officially I was employed by Manchester Met University because it was their money. The Resource Enhancement Grant was theirs essentially so because I was paid through that money I was essentially an employee of the university although I enjoyed all the rights and privileges of an Imperial War Museum staff member. But by the time the exhibition was being curated and put together I was a curator at the Art Department at the Imperial War Museum. In fact, at the

time I was actually Acting Keeper of the department, for one reason or another.

L: What year did the funding come in for *Posters of Conflict*?

R: *Posters of Conflict*? The funding would have come in, well I think round about, well the project started in May 2003, I think.

L: So it was a long project.

R: Yes. It was. It concluded in 2006. So we would have got the money, or got confirmation of the money for the grant for *Posters of Conflict* around about the end of 2002 or the beginning of 2003 I think. And then that concluded in 2006.

L: Where were the posters kept before *Posters of Conflict*?

R: They were stored in the art store at Duxford. So the project was based at Duxford. The whole project set up was Duxford based so staff, equipment, office space, it was all at Duxford. It was a completely Duxford orientated operation. I think what had happened, when the poster collection came to the Art Department I think it was, it must have been divided up, according to the *mores* of the time. So what you had was a selection of, examples of iconic posters, so you had the Kitchener pointing poster, and then other examples that were mainly chosen for their aesthetic qualities. So you had examples of German object posters, St Bernhards... and then there were examples of French more illustrative ones and then that sort of thing, so on and so forth. And the rest, was just deposited at Duxford and just left there I think as a kind of reserve collection I suppose. Not really, at the time we're talking about the late 60s, early 70s. We're not really thinking about posters as publicity, it's been thought of as more of a design collection I think really and not really looking at them as a kind of mass medium, but more as a containable connoisseurial approach. So, as I've said before, what you got from that primary collection that was assembled at the Lambeth Road site, was a selection of items that were not typical of the greater mass of

posters produced over the remit of the museum from the First World War to the present day, but more the kind of exceptional ones really. But because those were the ones that were accessible, these exceptions became the norm. So, that was kind of a major turning point really, I suppose in our understanding of the collection first and foremost. And of the kind of environment and the kind of context of the posters during that 100 years or so of the museum's remit. Once that collection had been opened up we could start looking at a different idea of how war publicity worked and what the posters' role was in that essentially.

L: Ok, so that's how they were categorised before *Posters of Conflict*, how did you then decide to categorise them [the posters]?

Well, we haven't really categorized them as such. I suppose that was the beauty of digitizing them and their appearing on the VADS server and things, was that you could, it was almost like a democratizing process. You could arrange them however which way you liked really. And you could form these new relationships between posters and things like that by doing these quite sort of, complex searches. So you could look at examples from, an example of symbol of, posters showing Marianne or something like that. Or bring together a certain genre of poster like war savings posters and see what kind of messages were being presented in those. You could look at them much more in the round, as opposed to just sort of looking at things as individual items and things like that. So you could see certain narratives appearing and things like that, so yeah the thing was, it meant that there wasn't a sort of, particular way of arranging things. We didn't go from one way of looking at the collection to another way of looking at the collection. We could look at it a lot more flexibly and formulate our own multiple narratives almost.

L: So moving on from that to the exhibition. How did the idea for the exhibition come about during *Posters of Conflict*? Was it just a result of working on that project?

R: It was yes. I mean, the thing was, with *Posters of Conflict* it did take... sorry, with *Weapons of*

Mass Communication, we, what we could have done, was produce a highlights of the collection as it were, you know, and we could have treated it like art, you know and had a nice kind of linear hang of aesthetically interesting, and fine examples of design and things like that but we didn't take that approach. James was very interested in the visual environment in times of conflict. He was interested in the publicity and the advertising industry and how that was, how those industries contributed to the war effort and how they were able to work for the State. Having worked in the commercial sector, and now having worked in the State to sell things as it were, sell State policies, State ideas, and notions of State, of nationhood and things like that, as part of a kind of hearts and minds exercise which was necessary for a modern mass society. So, that was the way that we went about it. Although it was a chronological display, there was quite thematic arrangements about ideas of masculinity, ideas of place, of identity and yeah, I think those were the overarching ideas that were shaping the show. It was about how these were communicated through the medium if the poster and what sort of messages and idea were being communicated. Rather than just zeroing in on certain examples of poster. So aesthetics didn't really come into it, even though there was a lot of very attractive and inviting posters included in the show. That wasn't the principal concern, it was to think about posters as a medium essentially, of mass communication, as is suggested in the title.

L: Ok, so when you've got these themes – masculinity, sense of place, those sorts of things, how did you arrive at these themes? Was that through your work with the collection on *Posters of Conflict*? Did you and James come up with the themes together?

R: Yes, well James had already started researching and putting his ideas, you know, committing his ideas to articles and things like that, as the project was going, as it was evolving. So it was a quite organic process really that through exposure to images of the posters. The great thing about digitization is that you could access, you could see what was in the collection, bring up, with the VADS server you could bring up a kind of light box arrangement. You could see posters as a mass and you could start to see, to understand the

way that they existed and the kind of, visual language they used essentially. So already James was writing his book, *Seduction or Instruction*, so his ideas were already pretty well formed by the time of the, by the time that the exhibition started getting into its planning stages. So it looked, almost as a kind of cultural social phenomenon, the poster. As a means of, a proven means of mass communication essentially.

L: So, within that, what was your specific role? When did you change from being documentation to curator?

R: Well I went from being a documentation officer to taking the role of curator of documentation. So I went from being a kind of, part of the staff on the project, to being the IWM representative on the project. So I was basically the person who represented the museum's point of view and what we wanted to get out of the project. And of actually facilitating things from the museum to the project. Such as access to the museum's collections, enabling research to occur... that sort of thing. And then I was Acting Keeper because the existing Keeper was, had moved up to being Acting Director of Collections because the other Director of Collections was seconded off doing something else. So I just slotted into the role and was Acting Keeper but mainly sort of working a co-curator-collaborator with James to put the show together essentially, so I was, although it was principally sort of James' vision, it was a collaborative thing about what we saw as the best posters to illustrate his thesis but also in a way I was there to ensure that that the IWM poster collection was represented in the best way. So there was that element of having a show that was attractive, but not, you know, not, but had a kind of proper intellectual thesis behind it. So, it's part of that balancing act between producing something that is attractive and eye-catching, but at the same time, has a solid basis in research.

L: So how did you go about choosing posters to go into the themes? Did you do it together?

R: Yes. We did it together. We started off, we had input from Mike Moody who was our

Research and Information Officer. Who was essentially the kind of, poster man, at the IWM. So it was quite interesting because he has one point of view, coming from a very kind of aesthetic, design orientated side and James was coming from, more from a publicity, social, cultural phenomenon side, looking at them as a kind of mass medium. And then there was me in the middle trying to sort of, bridge the two basically. We had a vast amount of posters to choose from because PoC was essentially there to digitise and document 10,000 posters. And we needed to have a selection of about 300 so there was quite a lot of whittling down. So there was a lot of really quite basic printing images off on sheets of A4 paper and just putting them on the floor and rearranging them and stuff. So nothing too high-tech but as the images show it was a pretty dense hang. So we were looking really to find a way of showing the posters that illustrated a particular theme but worked with each other to achieve that. So it was just, it was also a case really, one of the things we found, although we didn't want a show of highlights, some of the kind of renowned posters designers, people like Lucien Bernhard, Abram Games, we were finding that we were having to try and stop ourselves from picking them, even though their posters were doing, were working with what we wanted to achieve, but it was, we had to ensure that by doing that it didn't automatically become a show of highlights, of the best examples of poster design. So that was quite difficult, to do that, it was a bit of a balancing act, and it did mean that there were some you know, very attractive posters involved, but it was something that we had to be mindful of, that it didn't just become a kind of very, purely a visual show essentially.

L: Was there any posters that you found particularly difficult to choose, or that you wanted to include and James didn't, or vice versa?

R: I was quite mystified by some of his choices, by things that were quite kind of, rather ordinary looking, but you know, it made sense in the narrative that he was trying to archive. The difficult bit was really, wasn't so much between us, but some of the choices that we were suggesting didn't go down too well with other staff in the museum. Mainly because they had involved quite graphic images or involved expletives and things like that. But we got

everything through. There was a focus on, with the more contemporary posters, obviously there was a focus on the protest element of them and there was questions about why are we focusing only on protest material and things like that. Because you know at the time it was during the Iraq War and there were a lot of anti-Iraq War posters there which tended to kind of, give a little bit of cause for concern. But essentially the poster had evolved into a protest medium because of other forms of televisual media and things like that which made the poster less used as a kind of state tool, or as a commercial tool. It was really through its use as a protest medium that it lived on and was able to revive and evolve itself. So that's what we were trying to stress, and it was basically, you know how we explained it to our colleagues and eventually to the public. But again, we did, there were questions from members of the public over our use of protest posters. But we explained it as I have just explained it.

L: Yes, that leads me on to my next question, which is about how the exhibition was received. You mentioned that you made these kind of really careful choices, not to make it too much about, the kind of 'star' posters that the public is used to seeing, did anybody question those choices?

R: Yeah, well they did, yeah, they thought we were being biased. We once received, James, myself and Peter Kennard received the same letter of complaint in green ink as well, which I don't think either of them replied to, but I was duty bound to reply so I basically had to explain the rationale for including protest posters, and I said that we only had room for 300 posters so we had to make decisions and we couldn't include everything because that isn't actually 'curating' and we have to focus on specific areas, on salient areas in the use of the poster in the context of twentieth century conflict. So yeah, one or two, but overall it was well received. It was a very popular exhibition, it had a very large footfall and the take up of the catalogue we produced was very good as well. I remember we did get a shocking review in the Museums Journal by someone who had hoped to get a kind of art show of posters and couldn't understand the mass hang that we'd produced and wanted everything in a

kind of, linear hang and a nice succession of posters, and where we sort of describe what the theme was. Essentially this is Jim's view, and my own view as well that we didn't want them treated as specific examples, you know, of here's a nice poster, here's another nice poster sort of thing, we wanted to treat them as a mass medium, things had contrasted or they had shared characteristics and things like that. So we'd produced a wall caption explaining the overall theme, what we had set out to do, and then have a kind of key, a numbered key of, by which the viewer could see, that one is that one. And they were just captioned very simply with the artist, date, title, medium.

L: What was the idea behind that? Was it so that the audience could see the visual language develop for themselves without being told?

R: Yeah, exactly. See them as a mass basically, we wanted to replicate the way the posters are displayed often as groupings, rather than, in a very kind of linear way that you'd expect to see art displayed in a gallery, we wanted to get around that and think of them more of a media rather than art.

L: Can you explain how the collection is split between Proclamations and Art?

R: I suspect, that division occurred, I think once the collection came to Art and was moved up to Duxford, I think, a primary selection was siphoned off and then when it went to Duxford it was divided then I think. So we're talking early 70s I think, and it certainly wasn't a systematic process, it was done I think, really on a nod and a wink of the curator at the time who would have been Mike Moody I would have thought. I think there was a decision to make, and I think the things that had words on them, that were just typographical were sent off to be 'proclamations' and anything with an illustrative or visual content was deemed a poster. So as a result there are examples, or copies of the same poster in the Proclamation Collection and in the Poster collection so we're not dealing with something that was a logical, thought out procedure, it was done on an ad-hoc basis really. But the mood music is to bring the collection back together and to think back more along the lines of Bradley's original

idea of having a War Publicity collection which wouldn't necessarily mean renumbering things but actually having some sort of acknowledgement that proclamations, ephemera, printed ephemera, posters, postcards even, belong under an umbrella of War Publicity. It's all down to you, you made it happen, provided the intellectual basis for this.

L: (laughs) where are you with that move at the minute?

R: I did a collections proposal where I suggested that and it went down well, basically. And seemed a logical thing, so it has had the agreement from our collections development committee so it is acknowledged as the sensible thing to do essentially. Because what tended to be happening was that by organising the collection along very rigid taxonomic lines, like this is a poster, this is a postcard, this is a proclamation things like that, that when you come across some bit of paper based ephemera, that didn't fit into either of these categories you almost had to invent a new category for it. Which was just ridiculous really, and so this makes more sense, to bring, to deal with more broader definitions. I mean this is how other museums organise their collections. V&A for example have a Word and Image collection, you know, so it seems unnecessary to make these rigid distinctions between objects when really they're all contributing to the same thing essentially. And you just see, for example, the images reproduced in different forms, whether it's a poster, a postcard, whether it's a charity flag or something like that. They're all dealing with the same imagery, all wanting to achieve the same outcome, it's just the forms which they take are different. By zeroing in on these different forms, you're losing that sense of the bigger picture, and this is obviously what James has always wanted to return to, is this idea of a popular visual culture at the time and what it says about that culture and that society, so yeah, it's with some relief that that has been acknowledged. And now, we've just got to do it now.

L: And when that happens, the collection, will it belong to Art or will it belong to Proclamations?

R: The lion's share of the work will have to be undertaken by Art because of the changes

under the organization which will mean a reduced library staff. And the Proclamations collection has already been acknowledged as an object collection, it's not a library collection, so it was inevitable without these changes that it would be taken out of the jurisdiction of the library. But with all these things, when you inherit a large collection, it does take a lot of time and resources to deal with it, so that presents a challenge really. And I think that, where it is acknowledged that this is a sensible thing to do, the actual mechanism for doing that is still up for grabs really.